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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1802



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

ROMANIAN DELEGATION IN BULGARIA--From 17 through 20 July 1980 a working group of the RCP Central Committee visited our country. Headed by Maria (Viculica), secretary of the [word indistinct] RCP County Committee, it studied the experience of the BCP in the organization and implementation of ideological-educational work among communists and all working people. Today the working group was received by Georgi Atanasov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee. [Text] [AU212004 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1530 GMT 20 Jun 80 AU]

CEMA SESSION IN BULGARIA--A scientific coordinational conference that opened at the Sofia Health Center is attended by experts from CEMA countries on the complicated problem of transplantation of organs and fibers, and on questions of transplantation and immunology. Questions of further cooperation during the period 1981-1985 will be discussed and the scientific plan of the experts' organization will be drawn up. The meeting was addressed by corresponding member Prof Dr Gerasim Mitrov, deputy minister of public health. [AU190955 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 18 Jun 80 AU]

BULGARIAN-GDR TRANSLATORS' COOPERATION--On 20 June in Sofia the Bulgarian and GDR Unions of Translators signed a cooperation agreement for the period 1981-1985. [Text] [AU231223 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Jun 80 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2200

SEMINAR ON HOXHA'S BOOK DISCUSSED

AU241400 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 19 Jun 80 p 1

[ATA article: "Seminar on the Analysis and Propagation of Comrade Enver Hoxha's Book 'Eurocommunism Is Anticommunism'"]

[Text] The party's Central Committee organized a seminar in Tirana on 17-18 June on the analysis and propagation of the work "Eurocommunism Is Anticommunism" in Marxist-Leninist education and on certain problems of the organization and direction of our socialist economy in light of Comrade Enver's teachings.

Taking part were party office workers in the districts and the army and lecturers. Also present were Foto Cami, member of the party's Central Committee; Xhelil Gjoni, secretary of the Tirana district party's committee and other comrades.

Subjects discussed in the seminar were the importance of Comrade Enver's work "Eurocommunism Is Anticommunism" in exposing revisionism, the origins and manifestations of Eurocommunism as a variant of modern revisionism, the Eurocommunists' bourgeois concept of capitalist society and their anticommunist concept of socialist society. These views have been exposed by the AWP and Comrade Enver Hoxha's principled Marxist-Leninist criticism.

Other subjects were also discussed which dealt with the perfection of the scientific direction and organization of work as decisive aspects for the realization of economic duties, the struggle against globalism, bureaucracy and liberalism, and also the effectiveness of production as a vast and central problem of our socialist economy.

The study of Comrade Enver Hoxha's work "Eurocommunism Is Anticommunism" will serve the communists, cadres and all workers to further their Marxist-Leninist-cultivation. It will also further deepen and perfect the party's propaganda in the struggle against modern revisionism. At the same time, the intensification of Comrade Enver's teachings on a number of important problems of our socialist economy under current conditions will serve their more complete theoretical and practical understanding and will upgrade the work of the party's organs and organizations for the economy's direction.

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

FINNISH MUSICAL GROUP DEPARTS--The folk music group of Kaskinen city, Finland, left our country on 8 June. It gave its last performance in Shkoder. The group was seen off by representative of the Ministry of Education and Culture and Executive Committee officials of the Shkoder District People's Council. [AU082125 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 8 Jun 80 AU]

MOZAMBIQUE NATIONAL DAY--Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram to Samora Moises Machel, president of the People's Republic of Mozambique: On the occasion of your national holiday I send you greetings and best wishes for the further progress of your country and the happiness of the people of Mozambique on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and myself. [Text] [AU241325 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1230 GMT 24 Jun 80]

CARTER IN YUGOSLAVIA--As reported by the Yugoslav News Agency, TANJUG, U.S, President Carter arrived in Yugoslavia today for a friendly visit. He was met at Belgrade Airport by Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY presidency, and others. [Text] [AU241907 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 24 Jun 80]

CSG: 2100

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

INTERNATIONAL JOURNALISTS CONFERENCE--An international journalists' meeting opened at the journalists home in the "Golden Sands" Resort near Varna this morning. Representatives from the GDR, Spain, Iraq, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Syria, Cuba, the USSR, Hungary, the CSSR and Bulgaria are participating in the meeting, which is devoted to the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state. The meeting was inaugurated by Veselin Yosifov, chairman of the Bulgarian Journalists Union. [AU180900 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 17 Jun 80 AU]

BELORUSSIAN CC DELEGATION VISITS--On 18 June the delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia led by Leonid Kirsanov, Central Committee secretary, visited Stara Zagora's Khorobotika-Beroe industrial plant as well as other industrial plants in the city, and was briefed on Stara Zagora Okrug's industrial development. [AU180900 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 18 Jun 80 AU]

AMBASSADOR TO TOGO--Kostadin Gyaurov, Bulgaria's ambassador to Togo, presented his credentials to Army General Gnassingbe Eyadema, president of the Republic of Togo. [Text] [AU231223 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Jun 80 p 6 AU]

INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION SYMPOSIUM--A symposium on the theme of "Industrial Technologies and the Problems in the Production of Sugar Beets" took place in Shumen City. It was attended by representatives of scientific institutes in the GDR, Greece, Poland and Bulgaria and specialists and producers throughout the country. [Text] [AU231223 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Jun 80 p 2 AU]

DRAGOYCHEVA ACTIVITIES--Tsola Dragoycheva, BCP Central Committee Politburo member, received (Ruth Lubich), Politburo member of the Israeli Communist Party Central Committee and general secretary of the Democratic Women's Movement in Israel, who is visiting our country as a member of the official Israeli Communist Party delegation. [Text] [AU212004 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1530 GMT 20 Jun 80 AU]

VESELIN YOSIFOV KOLEV HONORED--The State Council has issued a decree awarding the title "Hero of Socialist Labor" to Veselin Yosifov Kolev, for his active participation in the struggle against fascism and capitalism, for his long literary, journalistic, and other activities as a writer and critic, as well as on the occasion of his 60th birthday. [Text] [AU212004 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 20 Jun 80 AU]

BELORUSSIAN CP DELEGATION DEPARTS--The delegation of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee led by Leonid Firсанov, secretary of the party, which had paid a visit to Bulgaria from 16 to 20 June, left the country today. At Sofia Airport the delegation was seen off by Ognyan Doynov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee. [AU212004 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1530 GMT 21 Jun 80 AU]

CSO: 2200

BILAK'S SPEECH TO IDEOLOGICAL AKTIV

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 21, 21 May 80 pp 3, 4

[Speech by Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the conclusion of the statewide aktiv of ideological workers on April 23, 1980, in Prague: "To Dedicate All Energies to the Benefit of Our Country's Welfare"]

[Text] I do not need to stress, in particular to this aktiv, the importance of our ideological program. The 15th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee emphasized recently the significance of that work, and comrades Fojtik and Havlin already spoke to this aktiv in detail about the importance of our party's ideological work.

Being personally involved in this sector, you realize in your daily activity the importance of our ideological work. You are among those who not only have mastered the Marxist-Leninist ideology, but who at the same time are convinced that without Marxism-Leninism we cannot advance and achieve a lasting success in the economy, in politics, culture, arts, in the educational system--simply, in any area. When we consider the further development of our ideological work, no amount of lamenting and complaining about the shortage of money and funds and that sort of thing will help us. Let us understand that we must do a better job without getting more funds.

The discussion in today's aktiv has shown that, in general, we do realize what we will have to face tomorrow. It will not be easy, because those tasks are very demanding. Our ideological front contributed greatly to all our accomplishments in the building of our socialist society, which gives us the right to feel proud; ideological workers, however, can never be satisfied with their past achievements and with the situation on hand. We must promptly signal and explain what we will face tomorrow and the day after, and here we frequently encounter misunderstanding on the part of certain people. We must realize that a man's education does not stop at the moment of his graduation at this or that school level, or with this or that seminar or course; it does not have even an age limit. It is a continuous and increasingly demanding process.

Even if we were drowning in riches, if we had everything under the sun a man may wish for and if at the same time we neglected ideological work and did not take care of the indoctrination of the socialist man--what we would end up with would be a new petit bourgeois, one who would be far worse than the one we are vanquishing--the socialist petit bourgeois. We must therefore pay quite a special attention to this problem. The point is this: Our priority concern must not be how many week-end cottages, cars, refrigerators, etc., we possess but what the ideological orientation of the masses is. The ideological involvement of the masses is the only thing which can overcome the most complex difficulties. On the other hand, if the masses are not ideologically involved, then the slightest tremor or uncertainty can cause panic, the trumpet will sound to retreat and socialism will get nothing but slander. Did we not have that experience in 1968?

Education, ideology, everything we are doing to win people over for our party's policy, cannot, and must not, be separated from specific tasks in the building of a developed socialist society. We must not paint rosy pictures but must acquaint people with the hard facts about the domestic and international situation. The ideological workers, in particular, must not lose their confidence that we are progressing in the right direction. Naturally, this applies to other areas as well--to the national economy, culture, arts, to all aspects of life.

We are bothered by many shortcomings, particularly those which are avoidable, those which stem from subjective rather than objective causes. It is quite right for us to criticize them but we must be always critical first of all of our own work. We could avoid many deficiencies, and many problems would not exist in such intensity, if our political-educational work corresponded to our current needs. We have not been successful in explaining to people that their wishes cannot all be fulfilled. The demands of the people are multiplying much more rapidly than they can be fulfilled.

Is it conceivable at all that the people might not like or want socialism? There cannot be any question of that. Or is it possible that people would produce goods of inferior quality on purpose and that it would make no difference to them? Again, this idea is completely out of question.

Where, then, should we look for the causes of the shortcomings and errors? I shall offer at least a few examples.

At the 15th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee we were told that we had to overcome the notions about possessing extraordinary talents, about being peerless, about our hands of gold--notions which often border on conceit. Is it not more realistic to admit that we tend to underestimate the abilities of other nations to create great values?

In 1977--and the situation showed practically no change until the end of last year--only 2 percent of our products manufactured for export achieved a technical standard comparable to the world standard. No more than 2

percent! Where does that leave our skillful hands? How much can we get for our products under such circumstances? Can it surprise us if many of our exports bring in no more than half of what top-quality products do?

Does the reason lie in our being less skillful and less industrious? Or does the answer lie with the managers who are unable to provide top-level supervision, whose requirements are too low and whose opinion of themselves is too high?

And in this context the importance of our ideological and political educational work comes again to the fore. Have we succeeded in attaining an atmosphere where the people realize that they are the real masters working on their own, that nobody can excuse their shoddy work, and that they are only harming themselves?

Our research and development base, which also has been on the agenda of the plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee, is diffused into nearly 2,000 interdependent enterprise centers, 309 of which consist of no more than 5-24 workers. And if we bear in mind that every one of those centers has a manager, a deputy manager, a secretary, a draftsman and a driver, right there we have a development center or a research center consisting of 5 persons!

Moreover, the number of creative workers, specialists, designers, and highly skilled workmen in such places of work has been declining, which is a most unfortunate phenomenon. And they waste labor and materials, often expend effort on resolving something which has already been resolved and then hesitate about putting it into production because in the meantime it has become worthless, obsolete. Where does that leave our skillful hands? Why do we tolerate such a situation? After all, there are communists working in those centers, party organizations are there, the personnel are responsible people and those problems must be evident to the enterprise management, to the VHX and to the ministry.

It is no coincidence that this problem was stressed at the recent plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee. The report stated that the tendencies to economic and technical autarky, constricting the economic and scientific-technical development within narrow national borders, have deep roots. We must be tenacious in our attempts to overcome tendencies to national isolation that had developed over centuries. As persons working in the ideological sector we know full well that nothing can be tackled head on, and that we must fight against such tendencies and make people recognize correct solutions. A great deal of work is before us here!

Obviously, ideology alone cannot provide solutions: it must explain, foment, teach and shape correct public opinions and a proper atmosphere, so that all people may realize what the meaning of being a good husbandman is.

Those who act irresponsibly--and we have many examples in many places--either lack ideological involvement or competence or have a hostile attitude to socialism.

Our work is difficult. Weak individuals will not last long in the ideological field and will fall by the wayside. Those who endure are working, and must continue to work, with conviction and a great deal of enthusiasm. We like our work. We know that occasionally we shall be misunderstood and unpopular, yet at the same time we know that we must systematically explain our problems and tasks. We shall meet obstacles. Even so, we shall perform this work lovingly and with conviction because we know that it serves our people, socialism and progress.

If the people learn to understand us, we will have a guarantee that we are in total command. If we fail to convince the people and win them over, no success will ever come.

We must not avoid conflicts; on the contrary, we must react to wrong views, various rumors and panic-mongering everywhere and at every occasion. A communist--and especially an ideological worker--cannot remain silent when lies are being spread. He cannot pretend in a bus or on the train to be fast asleep while the party's policy or socialism is being slandered. He cannot turn a deaf ear in the store or in his place of work when he hears the so-called unpleasant things.

Our adversaries are beginning to show their claws quite frequently now, testing out how far they can go. They even talk about the need for the return of the so-called "indispensables," those persons who had had to leave after the political clearance interviews. But their endeavors are futile, the rightist opportunists will not come back. We shall not stand for it. The party document, "Lessons Drawn from the Crisis Development in the Party and in the Society," remains valid. A person who has honestly admitted his error, who has realized that he had been wrong and who wants to make up for it to our society with honest work--such a person should be given a second chance. However, those who assume that we have forgotten it all will not get another chance. We have forgiven but not forgotten--and we must not forget--what had happened in the years of crisis and what our enemies had tried to do at that time.

This applies to the cultural front as well. In the cultural field, as well as in the field of production, science and a number of other fields, the rule to go by should be that we must continue to honor those who had courageously stood on our side, who had helped the CPCZ leadership, the party rank-and-file and the broad masses of workers to recognize the truth and to fight for the truth. We must not replace such people, under various pretexts, by those who had stood against socialism and the Soviet Union and who even now do not want to become ideologically involved. Even artists who conducted themselves improperly had been given a second chance. To be willing to give a chance to those who had wavered should not mean to take

that chance away from those who had stood firm. We cannot let things go so far that it may be difficult for an ideologically involved party member to get a part in a television show, in a film or on the stage. We shall not tolerate any cliques organizing pressure groups to push through their weird ideas of what cultural policy should be.

Responsible workers in mass communications, cultural institutions, film industry and publishing must diligently follow what is being published or produced and be quick about grabbing, as the proverb says, the bull by the horns and not by the tail. After all, let us not be so naive as to believe that there is nobody left here who might want to smile and pretend concern while sneaking in to us all sorts of improper works that are detrimental to our ideology.

If a bad film is produced, a subsequent decision may bar its showing in the cinema. However, why is it that its poor quality was not discovered at the time the script was being approved? If a poor book is published, it may be still withheld. This may cause material losses, but will prevent ideological and political-educational losses. However, if someone in the television network makes a wrong decision and releases a bad program, it will affect the thoughts of millions of viewers. We find it hard to overcome the falsely motivated "concern" about better economic results. We are still buying films that may fill the cash registers in our cinemas but which cause incalculable damage in the ideological field. Various films promote brutality, cruelty, inhumanity, etc. This surely is wrong. After all, in the cultural sector one cannot calculate everything in money. We must consider above all the effects reflected in the people's thinking.

We have begun a period of preparations for the 16th CPCZ Congress. It will involve very demanding efforts. Our adversaries are also preparing for it. They are getting ready to spread "authentic" information about everything and anything, about the lack of success in our national economy, about one kind of bankruptcy or another. They will discuss "screening" of CPCZ members and spread rumors about who will remain and who will go. Our antagonists will release all sorts of rumors among people. Most particularly, however, they will try to weaken the unity of our party with our people, and our friendship with the Soviet Union. In no case can we succumb to such attitudes or tolerate them. We must teach the party members and all honest citizens of our country to be able on their own to separate the truth from the lie, so that no one can excuse himself by blaming it on lack of information. After all, extensive evidence is available to us that our cause is just and about the communist truth, and we must defend it firmly and without any equivocation.

I will offer at least one example. Every year we have a scare campaign about a currency reform. Why is it that people who can understand even more complex problems often succumb to such rumors? How does that speak of the level of the work of our political education? Let us ask this question: When in fact are currency reforms implemented? After a collapse of the

national economy or after a war when dealing with the consequences of excessive expenditures. But, we are not telling lies when we say that our economy is not stagnating but advancing, albeit at a slower pace. Why, then, have some people been deceived by rumors of currency reforms? It is true that we are facing considerable problems in our national economy but its development continues to follow an ascending trend.

Occasionally rumors have it that the line of the 15th party congress has begun to change. We reply emphatically: The line of the 15th party congress remains unchanged, and has not been revised by an inch!

If we should have somewhat less meat to consume than our accustomed 85 kg per person per year, this would not be a reason for a change of policy. Nor would the fact that our national product amounted to 50 billion crowns more or, contrarily, to 50 billion crowns less, vouchsafe a change in our policy line. All it would mean, simply, would be that henceforth we should be able to proceed either faster or more slowly. We have not deviated from the line of the 15th CPCZ Congress. We are building a developed socialist society under the leadership of the CPCZ, our ideology is Marxism-Leninism, and our foreign policy is based on our alliance with the Soviet Union. The CSSR is a solid part of the socialist community. That is our policy line! Our policy line is not affected by our having five pair of shoes per year to wear or only four pair. Such things have nothing to do with our policy line, those are merely incidentals created along our way as we march forward. Therefore, let us not succumb to insinuations by people who are appearing here and there and are beginning to cast doubts even on the line of the 15th CPCZ Congress.

How many rumors have started, and how many more will yet start circulating that Czechoslovakia is not an independent state, that it must do what the Soviet Union says, and so forth? However, just take a look at the massive pressure the United States exerts on its allies in Europe. Can they participate in the Olympic Games this summer in Moscow or not? Must they boycott Iran or not? Can they trade with the Soviet Union, with the CSSR, etc., or not? By yielding to the shameless pressures exerted by the United States, its allies in West Europe hurt their own interests, the sovereignty and independence of their own countries. The West German chancellor Schmidt recently confirmed again that the alliance with the United States is the principal orientation of the foreign policy of the FRG. For that reason the West German government allegedly must support the boycott of the Olympic Games, agree with the boycott of Iran and with the stationing of U.S. troops on the territory of the FRG, and so on. I cannot even imagine all the grumbling in our country if the USSR committed even a fraction of what the United States has the audacity to perpetrate against such powerful states as the FRG, Japan or Britain, or if anyone told us publicly that we must not participate in a certain sports competition.

The Soviet Union is not forcing us to do anything. Just the opposite is true: it is giving us significant aid in the political and economic areas. I would like to offer at least one example for all. By providing crude oil to socialist countries at rates lower than the current prices in world markets, the USSR has made it possible for them to save the enormous amount of approximately \$15 billion in the 1975-1980 period. Last year the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic imported 18 million tons of crude oil from the Soviet Union. Had we to buy that amount anywhere else, we would have to pay for it roughly Kcs 36 billion. However, the USSR delivered the oil to us for less than Kcs 15 billion, in other words, for over 20 billion less. This is how the Soviet Union honors the bonds of its alliance and aid to its fraternal socialist countries. Despite all this, how many flagrant lies and all kinds of rumors are circulating in our country on the subject.

We are being criticized in the West all the time for being pro-Soviet, to which we bluntly reply: we are Czechoslovak patriots, we love our socialist country, we are fond of the Soviet Union because it is the most important and the most reliable guarantee of our independence and of our socialist development. We share with it the same ideology, interests and goals. We shall let no one violate our friendship and our alliance with the Soviet Union. We defend the Soviet Union and stand by its side, because that is a correct policy which benefits our country, progress and peace.

There are complaints voiced about problems in the supply of meat and other products. This is a disagreeable fact. It should be mentioned that the 85 kg of meat consumed per person is not a small amount. By the same token it is true that we are accustomed to higher increments than those we have at present. Last year's harvest was poor, and we are not sure what this year's yield will be. So where can we get the grain we are lacking? Should we buy everything abroad and get into debt? Should we live according to our means, or should we be careless and leave the payment of our debts to our grandchildren? Every honest citizen will answer: We must live within our means. It is an unpleasant thing to buy food on credit. Because of the meager harvest last year we must pay now with exports for what we had to purchase abroad (for example, fodder). To pay for it with sugar, we would have to export nearly all its production for four years. To pay for it with automobiles, we would have to export 350,000 passenger cars. To pay for it with tractors, we would have to export 120,000 tractors so much needed in our own agriculture. And to pay for it with footwear, it would require 90 million pairs of shoes. If our machine engineering industry fails to deliver a sufficient amount of products of high quality for export, they must be replaced by textiles and all kinds of goods. This, in turn, causes shortages in our domestic market.

We must explain this simple truth to the people in a simple way. We must do it frankly and without fear, and we must not hide under a coat on the bus, pretending not to have heard people cussing either because they do not know the truth, or because they misinterpret objective problems. By the same token, we must not forget that the international situation is now, and

evidently will remain in the future, extremely complex. Nor are the conditions under which we must compete with our products in foreign markets expected to improve, because competition in capitalist countries is becoming even more fierce due to the current economic conditions in the West.

The character of the U.S. policy is mostly irrational. It is difficult to predict with what the U.S. government may come up tomorrow and with what the following day. A West German politician ironically quipped recently that Carter and his adviser Brzezinski have a method based on inventing one gigantic folly every single day. That is their method, and nobody knows what they will devise next. After all, Iran does not endanger any vital interests of the United States. Naturally, the Iranian revolution has weakened the position of the United States in the Middle East, but it has not jeopardized the United States. And yet, just have a look at what the U.S. government and President Carter have done on account of Iran. They are forcing their allies to join an economic boycott, and threatening that if their allies do not consent, the United States will initiate a military blockade. A military blockade portends a military conflict. To have some basis for the justification of their solidarity with the United States, its allies says: We shall not participate in the Moscow Olympics, and shall take part in the economic discrimination against Iran, just to prevent a military blockade and to preserve peace. All that is false propaganda intended to pull wool over the eyes of their own people. In reality, they know that they are helping escalate a dangerous conflict even more.

Despite the complexity of the current international situation, and in spite of the escalating U.S. aggression, we are convinced that peace can be defended and that the warmongers will not win. The struggle for further relaxation of international tensions, for peace, involves a great effort in which the Soviet Union, the socialist community, and the world revolutionary and peace movements are now engaged. We must never yield to pessimism and uncertainty. Of course, we must mobilize all forces to defend and strengthen peace. This cannot be accomplished merely with slogans or verbal challenges, but with deeds, honest work, creation of great values so that our republic will be an even stronger partner in the socialist community.

We, the workers in the ideological sector, must succeed in getting as many people as possible to familiarize themselves with the decisions of the 15th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee, and in making them aware of what we want and what we intend. Complaints are occasionally heard that our work is hard. When has life been easy for a communist? Has there ever been an easy time while communists were fighting against the power of the capital and against fascism, or when they were laying the groundwork for socialism? I think that none of us has ever experienced an easy period in our lifetime. That is the fate of the communists struggling to build a new, truly humane civilization, namely, communism.

The ideology of Marxism-Leninism points to us the way toward that lofty goal. For that reason, we must be endlessly dedicated to that true ideology and in that spirit, we must work.

None of us was born a Marxist. We matured ideologically into convinced Marxists-Leninists only while marching forward. Our older comrades who inspired us with their enthusiasm often lacked special theoretical Marxist education. Their invincible conviction of the communist truth and its unavoidable victory was learned in great class struggles and they remained devoted to that truth without any reservations. In the same way we shall do everything in our power to inspire our younger generation with Marxist-Leninist ideology so that the younger generation too, can march along on that road and devote all its energies for the welfare of our country, for the building of a developed socialist society, for a communist future.

9004

CS0: 2400

DISSIDENT COMMENT ON 14TH CPCZ PLENUM

Rome LISTY in Czech No 2, Apr 80 pp 12-14

[Article signed by Jeremias: "Why Are Things So Bad, If Everything Is So Good?"]

[Text] Last year, the Czechoslovak economy was short of everything except imbalances and CPCZ Central Committee plenums. However, instead of the four party plenums originally planned, only two were held: an agricultural plenum and a several-times postponed economic plenum. Saving time, however, was not the real reason for these postponements. The economic situation in the country had become so bad that the everpresent Big Brothers offered the following advice: do not feed, do not provoke, do not meet.

In the end, however, the plenum did take place. But before the meeting, many things were on the move. Instead of a rabbit-hunt which, because of a great shortage of hares in Czechoslovakia, was greatly restricted and even prohibited in 1979, a hunt of plant managers was organized. As the hunt progressed, many managers and deputy ministers became its victims. The rest, the top management, remained safely in the saddle.

This action produced a sense of uncertainty among the top ten thousand. However, nothing else happened. The materials for the CPCZ Central Committee plenums changed from day to day and those who have seen the first drafts of the economic analyses to be submitted to the party plenums are saying that those materials constituted both indictments and arrest warrants.

Five Minutes After Twelve

What saw the light of day in the end could be called a watered-down five o'clock tea party prepared behind the closed doors of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium. The media published a long report delivered by V. Hula, but were not permitted to publish a discussion contribution of a single CPCZ Central Committee member. Nothing of this sort had happened even during the rule of Antonin Novotny. Even G. Husak's speech was presented to the public in an excerpted, sanitized form. The speech delivered by the venerable little tailor Vasil Bilak was being made ready for publication in RUDE PRAVO, but in the end the proofs were destroyed under supervision. No great loss to the world, but the whole episode is interesting.

During a few days following the plenum the media discussed it. But then Gustav Husak delivered his New Year's address and, on the following day, RUDE PRAVO titled this speech "With Confidence and Optimism." Thus the economic problems discussed at the 14th CPCZ plenum were definitely swept under the rug and Czechoslovak statesmen paid primary attention to a pledge campaign honoring the 35th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation.

However, let us go back a little.

Cry at the Wailing Wall

For over a year the party and government have been lamenting and blaming everything we were stricken with in the past and will be stricken with in the future on the three days in January 1979, when the CSSR experienced a little freeze and a 10-15 centimeters snowfall. The three-day freezing weather succeeded in bringing to a stop production in plants, heating plants, Czechoslovak Television, transportation, education and even in installation for jamming foreign broadcasts. Accumulated stupidity disrupted everything in the country which could be disrupted. The disintegration caused by scientific economic planning and by the targeting of our economy to the most ineffective production and a disproportionately large consumption of basic raw materials (which we do not have) and power resources (which we do not have either), had disastrous consequences. The Five-Year Plan, already off its course prior to this situation, found itself in severe danger. A similar situation can, of course, happen at any time, even without three days of somewhat severe freezing weather.

The goal of the December plenum was to find a remedy, not to point an accusing finger. Hula in his speech in the end admitted that "the entire economic development, especially the creation of material resources, is lower than anticipated in the Five-Year Plan. Contrary to the expectations of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, social product and national income have grown at a slower pace." He added that this "represents a loss of Kcs 23.5 billion during the four years of the plan."

Hula's analysis was not an analysis but a lament at the Wailing Wall. It reminded the public of the endlessly repeated fact that the "growth of the technical-economic level of production technologies is slow and the time-lag between research and production is unusually long."

Exports, too, are going badly, as is well known. Hula states that "during the four years of the current Five-Year Plan, export of machinery and equipment in terms of wholesale prices will be Kcs 13-14 billion lower than originally planned. In order to balance these losses, we export consumer goods, timber and metallurgical products instead of engineering products." However, Hula did not say what would happen in the future and who was responsible for the fact that the engineering industry, which was given such heavy investments, is in such bad shape and unable to compete.

Thus Spake Bahyl

A little later, this situation was described, though reluctantly, by Pavol Bahyl, a former tank manufacturing plant manager and now Minister of General Engineering, who said on 31 January 1980: "Our machinery exported abroad requires new electrical equipment; our automobiles and tractors need new starters and a number of other adjustments. It is not possible to secure the growing mass production of cars, tractors and the entire engineering production if for years we are behind in the production of springs, piston rings, air receivers, automobile disc packings and technical rubber, brake linings and brake plates and numerous chemicals. We cannot go on permitting the existence of serious problems involving steel alloy and metallurgical material products and shortages of spare parts in the electrical engineering and electronics industries. We also have shortages of special glass and other materials for lamps, bulbs and batteries, and there are imbalances related to hydraulic elements, grinding material, tools, etc."

So much for Bahyl.

How is all this possible, our citizens ask in bewilderment. Prior to World War II, Czechoslovakia was tenth among the industrially advanced countries. And now?

The Bloc of the "Most Progressive Countries"

The bloc possesses outdated norms of production and consumption, lags in labor sophistication and is paying no attention to security aspects. For example, some Soviet automobiles still have no safety belts because the producer did not anticipate them during the assembly stage. Thus how can one wonder that Czechoslovakia, which has become a major producer of steel, despite having no rich iron ore deposits, is unable to manufacture an ordinary but good and reliable spring for automatic spring-winding safety belts which were developed in the Moravian plant in Otrokovice? Without such belts no normal country is willing to buy Czechoslovak cars today. Our mammoth industry is able to manufacture giant pipes for Czechoslovakia, but unable to produce a little spring whose production requires so little material. The only way to have belts would be to import springs but we have no money for that.

As a result of this type of economy, a number of ordinary domestic drugs have disappeared from pharmacy shelves and physicians have been prohibited from prescribing them. Medical drugs are as difficult to obtain as meat is.

Island Full of Light

Until last year, Czechoslovakia seemed to be untouched by the energy problem. Then, from out of the blue, small consumers were hit by lightning in the form of a 50 percent increase in the cost of electric power, natural gas, gasoline, and oil. Retired persons received a raise of Kcs 30 per month, while officers

of the armed forces and police received at least ten times more--in many instances much more--in order to have them keep their mouths shut, support the regime, and maintain morale in the country.

The mass media started a campaign calling for economizing on energy resources, blamed the people for wasting electric power in their small apartments, but did not say anything about energy consumption by industry whose products nobody wants. The press and radio informed eager readers about smart alecks in agricultural cooperatives and communal facilities who started to construct solar energy collectors. Thus solar energy in cloudy Czechoslovakia has become the child's game of adult men. We have nothing against saving through solar energy collectors. However, we know that satellite measuring devices have registered Czechoslovakia as the largest infrared-radiating island of light in the whole of Europe. Does it mean that we are using so much electricity to light Czechoslovakia? Not at all. But there is no other country in the world with such energy waste. Because of faulty insulation, outdated boilers, archaic lamps and gas-guzzling vehicles, much of our energy is consumed for nothing.

In addition, small electric stations powered by water which produce power for practically nothing are being gradually closed down. Consequently, as far as energy is concerned, our rivers are being utilized only 38.35 percent and the remaining percentage is being wasted. As late as 1958, the Liberec area had 33 hydroelectric power works. Today, only 13 are in operation. Instead we are building solar energy collectors in agricultural cooperatives.

Leading Position

Let us buy foreign licenses, as the Japanese once did. We are buying them. A year ago, we bought 65 of them at the average price of Kcs 1.5 million. In other words, for a trifle. A number of these licenses have not yet been put into operation. We could earn foreign exchange, necessary for imports and technology, through tourism. World tourism is growing 8-14 percent annually. In our country, however, growth is a mere 3 percent. The "Balnea" enterprise makes one dollar for an average Kcs 6, "Sportturist" for Kcs 13. In Prague alone, we are losing 35 million dollars annually on tourists from hard currency countries because of lack of hotels. Foreign tourism, too, is strictly regulated in our country. Last year, visitors from other socialist countries constituted 95 percent of the foreign tourists in the CSSR. In the USSR the figure is 60 percent and in Bulgaria only 50 percent. Moreover, only 22.7 percent of tourists from the socialist countries stay in Czechoslovakia for more than a day. What then are they doing here? They are buying us out.

Among the Best in the World

We are not lagging in everything. As far back as twenty years ago, we started to talk about the need to manufacture an agricultural vehicle. Trailer tractors still in use are uneconomic and slow. A tractor consumes on the average 4.8 to 8.6 liters of fuel per 100 kilometers. Heavy duty trucks need only 2 liters per 100 kilometers.

After a long tug-of-war and labor pains, the T 815 Agro special agricultural vehicle appeared in 1972 and was exhibited at the 8th Congress of the United Agricultural Cooperatives. It was a vehicle which belonged among the world's best still in 1975 and even later. In spite of that, however, production was put on ice and is to start in ten years. Thus the labor of a large number of designers, researchers and test engineers came to naught.

In 1977, 10,000 trucks loaned by other branches of the national economy helped our agriculture. These trucks, of course, were missed by their owners. When the vehicles were returned to them, they were in terrible condition because they were not suited for field work.

Agriculture was promised 10,000 modern trucks by 1980. However, since the beginning of the current Five-Year Plan, according to Minister Bahyl, only 3,112 have been delivered and, naturally, they are of a different type than the T 815 Agro.

To conclude: the delay in the production of the Agro Tatra automobile is costing the republic at least a billion Kcs annually.

Let us talk about agriculture for another minute. According to FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations), Czechoslovakia occupies, as far as consumption of industrial fertilizers in proportion to the size of agricultural land is concerned, 10th or 11th place in the world, sixth place in Europe and second place among the CEMA countries today. However, in comparison with advanced countries, our production of certain crops, especially sugar beets, potatoes, etc., is below average.

This is because our commercial fertilizers contain too few nutrients. According to some data, this lowers the yields by as much as 30 percent.

Shortage of Some Items

Side by side with the shortages there is a surplus of other items. In addition to Tatra-613 cars used for official business, which consume up to 17 liters of gas per 100 kilometers, we can also point to a considerable number of official trips. In 1979, the national enterprises paid Kcs 8.2 billion for transportation. This amount has been listed under the rubric "business trips." This sum, however, does not include the flights of the so-called "specials," of the government-run air fleet, commuting diligently and without charge between Bratislava and Prague.

It would be interesting to find out how much was paid for "representations," gifts, entertainment, personal grants, and bribes. In this respect, too, we occupy one of the top places in the world.

Generosity, for which the rest of our citizenry must pay, is at times limitless. Milos Jakes, candidate of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, stated on 25 January 1980 that, in addition to costs for importing tropical fruits which we are unable to grow, we spend annually "Kcs 740 million in hard currency for vegetables and Kcs 800 million for fruit which we could produce, more cheaply, in our own country."

As usual, he lied. We did produce those crops last year. However, nobody saw the tons of cucumbers, tomatoes, peppers, apples and cauliflower. There were no trucks, no railroad cars. In other words, there was no way to deliver this rich harvest, especially from southern Moravia and Slovakia, to the consumer. So part was plowed under, part was given to cattle in the form of feed. This happened at a time where industrial cities were experiencing a shortage of fruits and vegetables. And last year's was not the first such episode.

At the same time, the "Benzina" enterprise fines enterprises with idle trucks for not spending gas allotted to them in the plan.

Last year, our farmers were able to complete their sowing. However, nobody knows what will happen in the future. We do not have enough sowing and planting machines. New machines to replace old deteriorating ones are not forthcoming. The same applies to other agricultural equipment, such as tractors, etc.

However, our overlords take care of our farmers in a different way. From a total of 34 okreses in Slovakia, only six were able to organize cooperative balls. The balls were prohibited or, at best, their organization was not recommended. And those six okreses which held them belong among those courageous ones which refused to take orders or listen to prohibitions from men whose only remaining sign of manhood is the fact that they wear trousers. Their lordships are arrogant. Their lordships are afraid.

What Will Happen Next?

Some 6,000 railroad cars stood idle on our tracks in January, with frozen substrates and especially with ore, imported from the USSR, in the form of bulky and frozen earth instead of in pallets unaffected by freezing. Part of our overloaded railroad system came to a stop, some cars had to be defrosted with the help of steam in tunnels (which was expensive), and products, including those earmarked for export, could not be hauled by our railroad.

This year, too, started on a bad note. Goods are disappearing from our stores, there is not enough meat and the number of lines in front of stores has multiplied. In spite of the fact that the price of gold has increased by 70 percent and that of silver by 160 percent, people stand in long and thick queues in front of goldsmith's stores hoping to buy these precious metals. The people do not believe anything they are told. And that is the only tangible reaction to the 14th economic plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee.

1277

CSO: 2400

.BRIEFS

DELEGATION RETURN FROM CUBA--The CSSR delegation, led by CSSR Deputy Premier Jundrich Zahradnik, returned on 9 June from Havana, where it attended the Sixth Session of the CSSR-Cuban Committee of Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Jun 80 p 2 AU]

PRAGUE-ALGIERS COOPERATION--A protocol on the further development of friendly relations and cooperation between Prague and Algiers, the capital of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, was signed this Thursday [12 June] in Prague, in the presence of Prague Mayor Zdenek Zuska, by (Abdarrahman Abdal Guarfi), the head of the official delegation of Algiers and deputy chairman of that city's People's Council, and Jindrich Skubal, the head of the National Committee of the capital Prague, and deputy mayor. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Jun 80 p 2 AU]

PALESTINIAN VISITOR--M. Stepan, chairman of the International Students Union, conferred yesterday with (G. Hasban), vice-secretary general of the Palestinian Trade Unions on Israeli-occupied territory and deputy mayor of Bethlehem. [Prague PRACE in Czech 11 Jun 80 p 3 AU]

CSSR-GRENADA COOPERATION--Negotiations on economic cooperation between the CSSR and the State of Grenada were concluded on Wednesday [4 June] in Prague. In conclusion of the talks the heads of the two delegations--CSSR Deputy Premier Rudolf Rohlicek and Bernard Coard, deputy prime minister and minister of finances, trade and planning of the State of Grenada--signed documents summing up the results of the talks. The documents state the bilateral interest in expanding mutual relations between Czechoslovakia and Grenada in the economic sphere, which would benefit the national economic development of both countries. At the same time specific tasks and intentions of economic cooperation in individual branches were agreed on, and further prospects of developing economic contacts and mutually advantageous cooperation in the future assessed. Prerequisites for deepening cooperation between the CSSR and Grenada also exist in the political and cultural spheres. The signing of the documents was attended by Vladimir Micka, CPCZ Central Committee department head. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jun 80 p 2 AU]

MAGDEBURG BISHOP CRITICIZES OFFICIAL DENIAL OF CRIMES AMONG YOUTHS

Bonn DIE WELT in German 14-15 Jun 80 p 4

[DW report from Berlin: "GDR Leadership Represses the Problems of Its Young People"]

[Text] In the Memorial Church of West Berlin, Magdeburg Bishop Werner Krusche has criticized the position taken by the GDR leadership in repressing the problems of young people: "Even among the youth with a socialist education there are criminality, alcoholism and poor work morale," Krusche stated.

The respected churchman was speaking as a guest on the sidelines of the synod conference of the western sector of the Protestant Church of the Union (EKU), whose eastern region had been meeting in East Berlin in mid-May. DIE WELT had reported on this meeting in great detail.

Krusche charged those responsible in the GDR with "either playing down, repressing, denying" the problems of the young people or trying to explain them away by referring to "harmful influences of Western media." The Marxists make things "too easy" for themselves with their orthodox pedagogy, according to the Bishop. The church over there "must not keep silent about the social injustice and the concomitant suffering," the theologian demanded. He pointed to the GDR's officially fostered "strong confidence in the efficacy of education" and contrasted this with the thesis of the Augsburg Credo drawn up 450 years ago: "From the moment they are born, all people are afflicted with sin and guilt." But, he added, this does not stifle the will to change "poor social and economic conditions."

Bishop Krusche attended the 1977 Protestant Church Conference in West Berlin as representative of the GDR churches. At that time he caused a stir by remarking that he could well imagine "the churches jointly deliberating without passion even such a problem as German citizenship."

CSO: 2300

SOLIDARITY OUTWEIGHS INDEPENDENT ROADS IN STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 5, May 80 pp 38-50

[Article by Janos Berecz, chief of Dept of International Relations of the MSZMP Central Committee; "Independence and Solidarity: Joint Responsibility for Peace"]

[Text] At the start of the year, representatives of the French Communist Party and the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) began consultations with interested parties on the need to organize a conference of European communist and worker's parties on security and disarmament, two questions of paramount importance for the population of Europe. Invitations were delivered in mid-March and were accepted by 22 parties. On 28-29 April the delegations of these parties conferred in Paris. They exchanged views regarding questions of the European situation and the defense of peace in an open, comradely atmosphere. The participants held similar views on the dangers threatening Europe, especially the grave consequences of the arms race fueled by international imperialism; their statements on the need for action were identical. They stated their joint opinion that peace is one of the fundamental human rights and that the primary task of the present is to bring the struggle for disarmament to a victorious conclusion. "We want to unite all peaceloving forces to achieve this goal," they stated in a declaration addressed to the nations of Europe and to all men of goodwill. The responsible stand taken in the declaration is born of a well-considered analysis of the international situation and the possibilities open to Europe.

1.

The distinctive feature of the present is the relationship existing between the solution of each important problem and the general world situation. There are fundamental differences between the various forces in their evaluation of the global world situation, especially with regard to the causes leading to certain sequences of events. In one regard, however, their conclusion is similar: ensuring the survival of humanity is the general social problem of the present day.

World population passed the 4 billion mark in the second half of the 1970's. Out of this total, a 3 billion increase occurred since 1850. This means that population doubled twice in about 130 years. The first doubling took a little bit over 80 years. The second doubling occurred in only 45 years. According to calculations there will be 6 billion people in the year 2000. If the present trends continue, the number will be around 10 billion in 2100. Another fact: according to data published by the UN, in 1979 one third of the world population were vegetating below survival level and about 500 million people, one eighth of the world's population, live in a state of permanent starvation.

The question arises whether world population growth is really bound to increase misery and sickness and whether the factors threatening mankind on this score are on the increase. The facts point in the other direction. Between 1950 and 1975 world population increased by 1.5 billion, or 60 percent. During the same period, the production of grain and rice, i.e., the most important basic food crops, increased by about 130 percent.

Grain production grew at about twice the rate of population growth. Estimates show that optimal utilization of available arable land could increase global food production to 130 times the present level.

Considering all factors in the progress of humanity we see that, from the standpoint of science, mankind is ready to achieve harmony in its own affairs. With the scientific and technical revolution mankind created the intellectual level and a set of scientific tools that make it possible to create a life worthy of man in spite of increasing population levels. Mankind could be capable of satisfying its needs in harmony, eliminating infectious diseases, perfecting the division of labor and achieving a world economy based on equal rights.

But in a social sense, humanity is still unable to use these great opportunities on a global scale. The social prerequisite for creating a harmonious balance between needs and resources is the creation of world-wide socialism, the social and economic formation that is free from exploitation and the oppression of man. The world socialist system has a significant influence on the development of humanity's fate. But there also exists a powerful social system, capitalism, which is built on the oppression of other nations and the exploitation of workers and producers. International imperialism is the reason why enormous scientific and material forces are accumulated for the purposes of mass annihilation. Instead of solving humanity's problems, these forces are threatening the survival of nations. At present, the world spends almost 2 million dollars every minute for military purposes. The volume of global arms trade is 20 to 30 billion dollars annually. Seventy five to eighty million people take part in arms production or serve in the armed forces. At the same time, the gap between exploiters and the exploited in terms of living conditions and personal security is increasing, together with the contrast between the backwardness of nations emerging from the horrors of colonization and the waste of resources practiced by capitalism.

The solution of the great tasks needed to ensure the survival of humanity demands peace and international security. Yet the arms race is accelerating the independence of liberated nations is threatened by armed imperialist intervention, and this forces them to devote a portion of their meager resources to develop their armed forces. The building of a peaceful and democratic international system necessary to solve global problems, protect the environment, defeat hunger, solve the great problems of health and continue to ensure the conditions necessary for further progress is blocked by increasing militarization which is a result of the basic nature of capitalism.

Thus, the gaping contrast in our age is that humanity is ready to shape an existence based on a balance between needs and resources because the development level of productive forces and the scientific knowledge and results are available; it is, however, prevented from doing so because of the situation in the area of social relationships. The guarantee of our future is the existence of a theoretical and practical way out of the present world situation, represented by the social reality of the theory of scientific socialism, existing socialism and the revolutionary workers' movement. But progress in this direction is not uniform or straightforward, even though the answer to the problems of the progress of humanity has been clear, in theory and practice, for more than 60 years.

For Lenin there were 2 decisive historical questions more than 60 years ago and his answers to them still govern the international activities of socialist countries. The first: is it possible for a socialist revolution to achieve victory in a country that is not the strongest capitalist country? The second: can a victorious socialist revolution survive when surrounded with imperialist enemies? Lenin answered both questions in the affirmative and the correctness of his answer has been proved by history, the progress of the Soviet Union and the direction of changes in the world.

These answers are historically important. They resulted in the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union in an extraordinarily antagonistic environment. With the victory over intervention, blockade and, first of all, fascist aggression, they were increasingly able to follow the principle of peaceful coexistence. As a result of the next revolutionary wave, the great community of socialist countries came into being. In addition to the socialist countries, there appeared a group encompassing a number of "Third World" countries which oppose the warlike policies of imperialism. Several among these started on the road toward development with a socialist orientation.

Our actions today are still determined by Lenin's answers because the importance of peaceful coexistence has become especially great. In our age the fundamental question is whether humanity can survive while each nation implements social equality and liberty in an independently chosen manner. The question involves the existence of humanity which is predicated precisely upon the implementation of great social changes.

On this score the relationship between revolutions and peaceful coexistence is especially important. Peaceful coexistence is a principle governing relations between states and a policy defining relations between countries with differing social orders. At any given time it reflects the existing balance of power related to the fundamental questions of the period and it influences the manner in which the transition from capitalism to socialism is effected. Peaceful coexistence is not just the absence of war: it means cooperation between nations belonging to the two systems in the area of politics, economics, culture and other fields. This presupposes and requires agreements and adherence to those agreements.

Revolutionary change occurs within a concrete national framework. In our time these changes may have national democratic, bourgeois or socialist aspects, may reflect a combination of factors and may use different methods. Regardless of its character, each revolution is related to the international situation. Its victory depends on the given international situation and the possibilities it offers; its outcome may affect international relations. Every revolutionary event is subjected to the general pressure of international imperialism. History shows that every revolution of whatever character was attacked by reactionary forces in other countries aiming to liquidate it. For this precise reason, revolutionary changes need the solidarity and support of progressive forces and, in particular, socialism. This represents an international dimension.

The detente in international relations during the past decade and a half provided optimal conditions for peaceful coexistence and the emergence of social changes for which the time was ripe. Detente is not a general principle but a concrete practice: it refers to the level of peaceful coexistence and is the most favorable level in a given period. Detente is a relative state characterizing the international relations of a given period compared to the tensions preceding it; therefore, it has its characteristic ebbs and flows because it is a function of trends in the balance of power and the behavior of political entities and directions that constitute the balance of power.

The basic political behavior and aim of socialist countries will continue to be peaceful coexistence and detente. But while the actions and political activities of one side are sufficient to create a war situation or cold war hysteria, peaceful coexistence requires partners. Peaceful coexistence can be achieved in government-to-government relations between states with different social structures. Thus, the policies of capitalist states have a great influence on the development of peaceful coexistence and detente in international relations. The basic fact is that detente is not the class policy of the bourgeoisie. Extremist circles of the bourgeoisie invented the cold war and used the policy of force against socialist countries. This policy of force was at its height in the 1950's when international imperialism enjoyed relative superiority.

Kissinger, the former U.S. secretary of state, revealed that a substantial portion of the bourgeoisie was forced to face the necessity of peaceful coexistence. He said: "With our unbelievably destructive armaments we are condemned to peaceful coexistence and our aim must be to make this peaceful coexistence more bearable, durable, less dangerous and more constructive." Peaceful coexistence is the natural policy for a socialist society in an age when two systems exist side by side; at the same time, a substantial portion of the bourgeoisie accepted detente as a must, a policy that has no alternatives given the present balance of forces.

II.

During the 1970's, while detente was in effect in international relations, leading institutions in Washington increasingly felt that their monopoly capitalist class interests are in danger and that under conditions of detente the United States is being put in a disadvantageous situation in several areas.

The ruling class in the United States began to perceive a threat when its nuclear monopoly was lost; the perception became general starting in 1957 when the first Soviet sputnik appeared above the United States. This meant that the country was no longer invulnerable in a military sense. The United States took part in two world wars without any damage to its own territory. With all due respect to the American heroes who have fallen in the struggle against fascism, their sacrifice did not reflect the view of the entire ruling class of the United States. This is because no nation in the world was enriched in the wars except the United States. For example, Britain was among the victors of the Second World War but was still unable to prevent the rapid collapse of the British Empire after the war. In 1957 the ruling class of the United States was forced to realize that there can be no world war in which the territory of the United States is left unscathed and from which the country can derive a profit. This acted as a veritable shock that was exacerbated by the defeat of the aggression against the Vietnamese people. Vietnam provided concrete proof that the United States can be defeated and this undermined the American aim of acting as an arbitrator in any part of the world.

The ruling class of the United States and especially its military circles have the aim, after Vietnam, of restoring strategic military superiority by various means. This meant increasingly powerful attacks against detente, apparent in three areas during the second half of the 1970's. The first was the development and growth of military spending and technology at a rate that might result in a situation where others are unable to respond, thereby creating social and political tensions in the countries in question. The second aim is to return the United States to a policy of bases in various parts of the world: this presented the policy of encircling the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in a new light. The third aim was reflected in measures aimed at the destruction of regional power balances. In Western Europe this meant the NATO resolution on the deployment of so-called Euro-missiles, in the Far East the fomenting of military hopes related to China, then the establishment of new military bases in Egypt, Oman and other countries in connection with the changes in Iran.

This military and arms policy process was reflected in the following: in the first year of its existence, 1977, the Carter administration started a propaganda war against socialist countries, especially the USSR. The intention to accelerate the strategic arms race was demonstrated as early as March, 1977, when the United States wanted to change the Vladivostok agreement concluded with the Soviet Union in December 1975. At the May 1977 meeting of the NATO council the United States proposed that member countries increase their military spending by 3 percent. After a year of hesitation, the allies agreed to increase it at an annual rate of 3 percent for 15 years. When this resolution was made, the United States proposed the deployment of a medium range missile system in Western Europe. The allies were once again less than enthusiastic. To ensure that the conference of NATO ministers held in December 1979 accept the missile deployment program it was necessary to create a suitable atmosphere. This was accomplished by the propaganda campaign around the suddenly "discovered" presence in Cuba of 2,500 Soviet military personnel with the suggestion that the Soviets present a direct threat to the United States. This was coupled with intensified propaganda in Western Europe with the old assertion of "a Soviet threat." They achieved the desired effect: the Euro-missile program was adopted by the council of NATO secretaries of defense.

On 12 December, when this plan was adopted, the president of the United States announced that the military budget must be raised by an annual 5 percent. A month later, on 23 January, he justified this increase by events in Afghanistan, in spite of the fact that on 12 December, when the increase was first announced, the so-called Afghanistan events had not yet taken place.

The real intentions behind these high level measures are apparent from a statement given by Brzezinski, the president's national security advisor, three years ago when he said: "If both we and the Russians used up all of our nuclear weapons this would mean that at most 10 percent of humanity would perish." In Brzezinski's calculations most of the 10 percent should fall on socialist countries; Western Europe, the forward defense post of the United States, might also be destroyed. These cynical calculations are characterized by the fact that they know they can never come true because the strike capability of the Soviet Union and the defense force created by the sacrifice of the Soviet people are of such a magnitude as to make all such calculations null and void.

The fact of military vulnerability, that is, the changes in the balance of power over the past two decades, led to a debate within the ruling class of the United States on basic orientation. More and more people argued for the acceptance of realities while others urged an increasing arms buildup. This debate created sharp conflicts from time to time. Among its victims it claimed presidents and presidential candidates, but detente also gained ground. But there have been other changes resulting in an increased sense of vulnerability and, to some extent, increasing aggressiveness in American leading circles. One of these factors is the increasing number of national and social changes and events of a revolutionary character in several areas of the world.

The ruling class of the United States is in a peculiar position in that it has never had to face serious class conflicts with the oppressed and exploited at any time in the course of the twentieth century. The workers' movement in the United States has not presented a real threat to the rule of big capitalists. On the other hand, the surrounding world is becoming increasingly revolutionized and they are increasingly unable to deal with this process. Just consider the events of 1979: these alone represented enormous blows for them. It began with the collapse of the Maoist dictatorship in Cambodia which ruled with socialist and communist slogans and it ended with the people's revolution in Afghanistan cleansing itself and returning to its original road. But even before, we saw the victory of Iranian and Nicaraguan revolutions. Revolution was victorious in Iran which represented the most solid foreign base of the United States with a well-organized military and 70,000 American advisers. The Nicaraguan revolution achieved victory in armed struggle in a region where the military and economic preponderance of the United States was sufficient to block all progressive social change for 150 years. This process was broken by a single event of historical importance: the victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959 which imperialism considered an unrepeatable historical accident.

Thus, the turn of events in the social sphere surprised and angered the ruling class of the United States and prompted it to resort to countermeasures.

Another reason imperialism felt increasingly threatened was the enormous gap between the industrialized capitalist world and the conditions in most developing countries.

When former colonies achieved political independence they began their struggle for economic independence. This presents an obvious problem to developed capitalist countries merely from the standpoint of energy supplies. For example, the share of the developing world in Japan's energy imports is 95 percent; 80 percent of the energy supplies of Western Europe depends on developing countries. The United States was self-sufficient in energy 15 years ago. At present it is 25 percent dependent on energy supplies from the developing world and its projected dependence will be 50 percent in 1985.

What is one side of the economic tension between imperialism and developing countries? The 5.5 percent of the world population living in the United States uses almost one third of the world's energy. Under conditions of capitalism and in view of the present energy sources it is unimaginable that the "Third World" could reach the development level of the economy of the United States, for example, without any threat to the energy supplies of the United States. Fortunately, the countries of the socialist community have access to resources within their own territory; it is only necessary to put energy resources into production at the price of some enormous investments. The bulk of the energy used in the capitalist economy comes from the developing world, mainly countries of the Near East and Middle East.

The differences are substantial also in other areas: per capita food consumption in the developing world is one third that in developed capitalist countries; per capita energy consumption is one seventh of the energy consumption of the developed capitalist world.

One need not be a socialist to see that this state of affairs is untenable: capitalism is no longer able to profit from the fact, as it did for centuries, that a substantial portion of the peoples of the earth are starving, mortally sick and are doomed to perish while the historical road for the solution already exists in the form of socialism.

The various types of revolutionary changes which are often of a nonsocialist character are especially frequent in regions that are extremely backward but whose natural resources are used in the service of developed capitalist countries. Thus the events in Iran affected capitalist states at their most sensitive point by undermining a secure spot in an oil-rich region and turning it into an enemy. These processes are impossible to prevent and their effects are unpredictable.

Those systems and countries which provide a base for the United States in the "third world" (e.g., Saudi Arabia in the Near East or Pakistan in the Middle East) are plagued with tensions and contradictions. Saudi Arabia and Pakistan are backward societies. The situation in Saudi Arabia is almost absurd: the most modern technology in oil production and processing coupled with medieval social relations. The United States may choose to encourage social change that can lead to unpredictable events or may try to prevent it, thereby raising the possibility of an explosion. The system in Pakistan is neither a democracy nor a unified state because workers and nationalities have no rights whatsoever. There is no use supplying it with arms worth hundreds of millions of dollars: arms were supplied to Iran but could not prevent a social explosion, independent of any external influences, that resulted in an unpredictable turn of events.

In analyzing the situation, we start from a thesis of Marx stating that change and development, being necessary revolutionary processes, will force their way through in spite of all obstacles. We think that the United States, Western Europe and the developed capitalist world must accept the fact that these processes are necessary and occur without the assistance of socialist countries. Changes of this sort cannot be blocked by any kind of doctrine; an attempt to suppress them by force will lead to increased tension. This is the effect also of the Carter doctrine: it weakened detente and raised the threat of a cold war atmosphere.

In such situations our position is not simple. On the one hand we know that social changes have an objective character and our solidarity is on the side of progress. On the other hand, we do not want an increase in international tension and want to continue the policy of peaceful coexistence. Social progress is an objective necessity and peace is fundamental to survival; it can be reached only through a certain degree of agreement between the enormous forces of the two systems and following the will of the masses.

III

In the present situation we need to rely to an increasing extent on the involvement and responsibility of Europe. Europe's involvement and responsibility are special not just because this is where two world wars have started and had their main fronts, but also because Europe is almost one hundred percent vulnerable in a new holocaust. For this reason it is very important and necessary to try to communicate not only with the leftist political forces in Europe but also with the centre, with moderate liberal bourgeoisie and in general with all forces amenable to Realpolitik, to discuss common problems of existence and common tasks.

This is very difficult in an atmosphere where the economic and political weight of the United States as well as its political machinery are used to put tremendous pressure on its allies. There are almost daily calls from representatives of American government circles, frequently from the president himself, urging Western Europe to introduce various boycott measures, reduce trade with the USSR and East European countries, isolate Iran, show force in this or that direction, etc. This road has many dangers for Western Europe.

The state of affairs most suitable for the interests of Europe and, in particular, Western Europe, is one where we can communicate, talk to each other, note common or diverging interests and even accent disagreement in certain areas and on this basis conclude agreements to strengthen the security of Europe. This process emerged in Europe during the first half of the 1970's and became a strong reality. Any backtracking, divergent trends and tendencies run counter to the interests of the people of Europe and the world.

We understand the situation of Western Europe. Reactionary propaganda is spreading the frightening accusation that the socialist countries are bent on destroying the Western alliance and want to drive a wedge between capitalist countries. If their interests diverge, this should be judged by the public opinion of their respective countries. What we want is not to let Eastern and Western Europe slide irrevocably into confrontation because this carries with it the danger of annihilation.

In formulating this political goal we are considering the factors that affect Western European policies. On the one hand, the states of Western Europe are highly dependent on active economic relations with other parts of the world. Their geographic situation and population density characteristics make it impossible for them to survive nuclear war. On the other hand, an influential factor is the exposure of western European public opinion to several decades of scare stories on the reality of the "Soviet danger" and that "Soviet tanks are threatening the existence of West European countries." Together with this, they also convinced people that Western Europe can be protected only by the nuclear umbrellas of the United States. As a result, the public opinion of Western Europe accepted that certain

sacrifices must be made for increased defense. This means principally the deployment of modern medium range missiles. We also recognize a certain amount of movement to the right in the public opinion of parts of Western Europe. This is in part a consequence of the effects of the strong propaganda offensive against socialist countries on the electorate: the hostile campaign centered on the Soviet threat and the dangers of a breakthrough by Communist parties successfully scared the small bourgeoisie.

However, there are other factors which run counter to the trends toward a negative atmosphere. In Europe there exist important, real political forces capable of recognizing and influencing the realities of the international situation. Their international political sophistication is greater than that of the social forces in the United States because they took part in international life over a much longer period and have more experience. Among these are social democrats, bourgeois radicals, liberals and certain religious circles. This fact does not mean that they are not subjected to a substantial degree of reactionary influence. It merely implies that they possess more political experience and a more comprehensive view and therefore show more responsibility in international political life. The political opinion of Western Europe is also determined by the fact that the masses are highly organized, they have living historical experience and the left is more organized. Therefore the propaganda of the left is stronger and the stand of Communist parties on the side of peace is more decisive; this has a noticeable long-term sobering effect even after momentary increases in tension. Another undoubtedly positive factor is the fact that detente brought the greatest results in Europe. Europe shows the strongest support for detente. The public opinion of Western Europe did not accept the conclusion that all evil flows from detente.

As a result of all this, the political life of Western Europe is assuming a dual character. It is affected by fidelity to the alliance on the one hand and realities on the other. Thus, to some extent, they are following the "hard" policy of the United States while defending detente and attempting to strengthen it. They are adopting boycott measures injurious to detente but they are also taking steps to defend the interests of detente.

This special position and responsibility of Europe led to an initiative toward holding another conference on the question of detente, disarmament and security in the interest of the struggle for the creation of a peaceful and secure Europe with the participation of European communist and workers' parties. It has not received unequivocal support because several Communist parties failed to participate in the Paris conference including the Yugoslav, Romanian, Italian and Spanish parties.

IV

A total of 22 parties, that is, the majority of European Communist and workers' parties, accepted the invitation and took part in the Paris conference. Yet some important parties stayed away; their stand and their

methodological arguments relating to content and form must be taken seriously. We sincerely regret their absence and we are doing everything to make sure that it will not have a negative effect on our bilateral relations. The cooperation and solidarity of communist and workers' parties cannot be divided by comradely debates and disagreements. But this depends on both sides and this view of ours cannot be forced on anyone.

The relationship between parties within the international communist movement was governed for several decades by a principle stated within the framework of democratic centralism: that after a resolution is reached following a democratic debate, the minority shall comply with the decision of the majority. In that period the international communist movement still had a center and the principle of a leading party was still alive. This situation underwent gradual change and the world conferences of communist and workers' parties took place as a result of democratic cooperation between participating parties.

The conference of European communist and workers' parties held in Berlin in 1976 formulated and summarized in a document the present norms governing relations between fraternal parties. They jointly decided to continue their comradely, voluntary cooperation and international solidarity based on the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin while respecting the principle of nonintervention in internal affairs and the right of each party to choose freely its own road. The rule of consensus and agreement that emerged during the preparatory phase permitted the inclusion of statements in the joint document only in case they were approved and accepted by each and every participant. Procedural norms were also approved on the basis of consensus. The method for convening the Paris conference was criticized because it was said to violate the principle of consensus. This principle and method should not, however, be treated as a dogma.

When our party accepted the invitation to Paris, our starting point was the document formulated in Berlin, according to which every fraternal party has the right and opportunity to present its own initiatives. The French Communist Party and the PZPR initiated a joint conference on European disarmament and peace. They both emphasized that their initiative is not a continuation of the Berlin conference and neither is it opposed to it because it coincides with the important task mentioned in the Berlin document stating that the Communist and workers' parties of Europe "will adopt effective measures to deepen the process of detente and disarmament and to strengthen European security." The right to this kind of independent initiative cannot be taken away from any fraternal party on the basis of the principle of consensus. At the same time, each concerned fraternal party has the right and the duty to decide on its own whether to participate or not in such a conference, whether some other method is more suitable, etc. But no one has the right to decide, alone or in a minority, to determine the joint activities of other parties, for example, by blocking their work toward joint action. To put it in another way, the thesis should not be reversed: the majority cannot be subjected to the decision of a minority. A handful of parties cannot block the attempt of the majority to work towards joint action and a declaration of joint responsibility.

Another formal objection related to the conference was that its preparatory work was not preceded by a careful, long series of negotiations similar to the 1976 Berlin conference. In this connection, our view is that the communist parties must be able to take rapid action in response to acute problems, especially in cases when there is no need to formulate a special document of principles but to formulate a joint declaration. For this reason, rapid preparation was regarded by us as a positive feature of the conference.

Among the conceptual arguments used against the Paris conference it was said that there would be little concrete benefit from a conference where only communist parties take part; or, in other words, a conference consisting only of communists reduces the social base of the struggle for peace.

Communists know that they alone cannot reach the great goals serving the security of mankind's future. It has always been their aim to communicate with other movements and to take joint action aimed at the implementation of programs that express their joint interests. But they never gave up their independent character, never refused to express solidarity among their parties and never rejected their international relationships.

Various national forces belonging to other political movements also hold regular political conferences and issue more or less extensive joint documents. We cannot make our cooperation conditional on their stopping all such activities; we cannot demand that they reject their independent character. Their declarations are always helpful in analyzing their intentions and in searching for cooperative possibilities in all necessary areas.

The Paris conference of communist and workers' parties did no harm to any other progressive democratic forces since it took a stand on the side of strengthening our alliance with them. At the same time, since we live in Europe and represent an important political force right here, no one can deny us the right to take responsibility in the region. The participants of the Paris conference stated their joint responsibility for the fate of Europe. They expressed their will to act and their conviction that peace and security are a fundamental right of the workers of Europe. At the same time they expressed their opinion on the situation and the ways out of it. They revealed certain areas open for action. They also reaffirmed their readiness to cooperate with all men of goodwill, all honest political forces and everyone who feels responsible for platform for any kind of cooperation and the Paris conference took a stand on this side, it serves the cooperation among different political forces. The openness of its atmosphere and the straight talk used can only make it easier to look for possible threads to connect these political forces.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party always emphasized that it considers itself part of the international communist movement; it is building especially close relations with Communist parties. Our Central Committee reported to the 12th congress that representatives of our party held high

level talks with delegates of 79 communist and Marxist-Leninist parties on 390 occasions during the five years since the 11th congress. They also participated at the congresses and other functions of fraternal parties. We were honored by the fact that a number of theoretical and political conferences were organized in our country with the participation of representatives of more than 60 communist and workers' parties. Thus, a conference of representatives of 29 communist and workers' parties on relations with social democrats was held in Tihany in December 1979. Our party built very active and mutually useful relations with a number of social democratic parties in recent years: a regular relationship exists with the Finnish, [West] German, Belgian and other parties. The conference in Tihany not only did not interfere with the cooperative relationship between ourselves and these parties; in fact, as a result of a certain deterioration in the international situation, there was increasing interests in getting to know one another's views. For example, since Tihany the representatives of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held numerous discussions with the leadership of the [West] German Social Democratic Party and agreed on continuing the dialogue.

As in all areas, our actions in the international sphere are determined by our principles. Comrade Janos Kadar said at the 12th congress of our party: "Responsible political leaders keep their fingers crossed hoping for predictable partners. We definitely want to be predictable. We want to be faithful allies and so we are. We want to be faithful friends of our friends and so we are. And the same goes for the other side: when we negotiate and come to an agreement, we are correct, honest partners true to our word and we want to continue that way in the future." This is also reflected in a clear and open statement of our views at international gatherings.

There is a new and surprising argument being raised against the Paris conference: that "it is difficult to explain a joint conference with communist parties that are in power, have their own missiles, work in the diplomatic sphere and carry on state-to-state negotiations." This brings up a number of important questions. Why do they then demand cooperation with social democratic parties and Christian forces that not only possess administrative power in their own countries but also can and do decide on questions of arms, are present in NATO organizations and control missiles? The argument just mentioned would seem to exclude cooperation with any such forces; yet, our fundamental goal is to communicate with them and to participate together in assuming our responsibility for the fate of mankind. Such an argument would not permit the representatives of a Communist party to take part in a social democratic-bourgeois liberal coalition government of a capitalist state and would make the domestic policy aims of the Italian Communist Party, for example, quite unintelligible although we received these with sympathy.

But there is also another side of this coin. We have to talk about this openly in reply to an open declaration. From the time it first became self-conscious, the working class has been aware of the fact that it can be exploited economically and oppressed intellectually only because political power is in the hand of the exploiters, whether it takes the shape of open dictatorship, constitutional monarchy or institutional bourgeois democracy. For this reason, our actions are determined by the basic Marxist principle stating that the working class must rule in politics in order to rule in the economy. The socialist countries, the USSR, Hungary and others have done this and reached this goal. This political power in our hands has been shaped by our historical conditions, traditions, political maturity, the possibilities offered by our social and economic conditions and the extent to which we were able to develop it on the basis of our experience. But the fact is that this power is becoming more mature and sophisticated.

Our socialist states are basically characterized as follows: 1. Each serves its own people, stimulates it to great acts and leads in the interests of its own nation. We achieved historic victories by struggling against enormous difficulties. 2. They are not only infused with nationalism but also fulfill their internationalist obligations. The enormous contribution of the USSR to victory over fascism, the 35th anniversary of which we are celebrating, is in itself a sufficient proof of this fact. The active solidarity of the people of socialist countries with the struggle of people shaking off their colonial past for national independence is another fact of similar importance. The practical role of socialist countries in defeating the cold war and bringing on detente is no less important. This is the policy of our power. We are proud of this power. We cannot give it up just because some communist parties say that they can create something better and more perfect. Of course, we would only be happy to see their ideas become reality, in part because it would make our position much easier.

We should not forget an important fact: that the pressure of powerful imperialism continues to be focused on socialist countries and is aimed at the defeat of concrete revolutionary processes. Blockades, pressures, threats and sanctions are primarily directed against us: we take them on, defend ourselves and make sure they are defeated. They will not deflect us from continuing along our road, led by two main slogans: socialism and peace. No dissenting opinion or disagreement will prevent us from communicating as communists or from showing solidarity with each other in our everyday struggle in the social and political sphere.

In the international communist movement it is never advisable to use assertions and assumptions in place of arguments in the course of presenting different views: passion is not justified here. Truth is undoubtedly important and the search for it requires consistent aims. True passion is needed in the class struggle. Debates among communists are characterized primarily by concentration on principles. Our opinions must always start from reality. The correct opinion must be found jointly, based on common interests. They must be supported by arguments and facts. Unfounded

statements are not proved by the forcefulness with which they are pronounced. Among these is the unfounded assumption stating that the joint initiative in Paris indicates the outlines of another "new center." We accept that everything is changing and developing, including our movement: there is no center and there is no need for one. But the movement, the working people and the future of the entire world need the joint responsibility of Communists.

Today all communist parties are sensitive when it comes to their independence and autonomy. But question is justified: can any communist party be independent from responsibility for the peace of mankind and disarmament, can it separate itself from reality or from solidarity with the movement? The 1976 Berlin conference of European communist and workers' parties answered this question positively when it accepted the jointly formulated document entitled "For Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe." This commitment was reaffirmed by the 12th congress of our party when its resolution stated: "In the future it will continue to actively contribute to the implementation of the joint tasks formulated by the Berlin conference of European Communist and workers' parties."

All actions by the Paris conference suggest the same responsibility. In their declaration the participants recall the historical lesson on the 35th anniversary of the victory over Nazism: "Peace is dear to all of us and it will be victorious through the actions of all of us." The interests of all peoples demand that existing problems be resolved through negotiations and international relations be regulated by agreements. The declaration states that peace-loving forces must struggle for ratification of the SALT II agreement, fruitful conclusion of the Vienna negotiations, successful preparation of the Madrid conference dealing with questions of European security and cooperation followed by holding the conference and calling a conference dealing with European disarmament and military detente to be held in Warsaw. Communists are peace-loving people but they do not regard the struggle for peace as their monopoly. This is why they declared from the site of the conference: "...we intend to search for an open initiative which could possibly lead to the widest range of interaction and the widest possible dialogue. We are ready for suitable forms of consultation and an exchange of views with all European forces that have the intention to act in the spirit of Helsinki and with a view toward Madrid in the interests of continuing the policy of detente and searching for ways to reduce arms in our continent."

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PARIS PUBLICATION DISCUSSES ROOM FOR MANEUVER IN HUNGARIAN POLITICS

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[Article by Peter Kende, responsible editor: "Summoning the Goat, Or, Concerning the Dialog"]

[Text] "If you are our good mother, show us your white leg"

In this volume the dear reader will find writings and conversations concerning the room for political maneuver, the hidden economy and coexistence in the Danube Valley. Every one of the texts analyzing the possibilities for maneuver came from Budapest, either directly or--as in the case of the opening interview--by way of Vienna. Two authors--Zoltan Zsille living in Budapest and Istvan Kemeny living in Paris--discuss the place, meaning and interdependencies of the hidden economy in connection with the structure of contemporary Hungarian society. On this occasion the theme of coexistence in the Danube Valley--to which we devoted our entire previous issue--is approached from three sides: a political-historical review (Borsody), from the viewpoint of Hungarian historical awareness (Mester) and finally from the side of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. Istvan Borsody's article was written in Pittsburgh, as part of the MAGYAR FUZETEK work program; Mester's article originated in Budapest (but found no publisher there); the texts from Slovakia fell out of a bottle which had been thrown into the westward flowing waves of the Bohemian Sea--known previously by Shakespeare--by a brave little group there, the Legal Defense Committee of the Hungarian Minority. With the exception of the interview already mentioned all are previously unpublished articles and documents.

We do not want to excite the curiosity of the reader beyond limits so we will explain immediately that we borrowed the metaphor of the "existing goat" (the title given to this entire volume) from Zoltan Zsille, that is from the opening conversation with Hegedus, Foldvari and Zsille. Zsille is obviously disturbed by the cultural-historical phenomenon that more and more people are calling the wolf which imitates the voice and color of the mother goat ("But it is black!" Esterhazy would observe) the "existing goat." But it is also clear that Zsille's irritation is merely

linguistic, as appears from the fact that as a subjective sociologist--his own definition--he is very interested in the natural history of the existing goat. The majority of our authors share this interest so it is a forgivable linguistic deviation for us to dedicate our volume to the existing goat.

The subtitle of our volume is "Dialogs." As the reader will see three of the collected works were prepared as dialogs. The opening conversation is a dialog--or more precisely a trialog--about the possibilities of opposition in 1980 Hungary. The thoughts of Libertarius about the spiritual springs of Hungarian compromise are an internal dialog. And the letter of the Hungarian legal defense group in Slovakia to those in Prague, describing the situation and seeking solidarity, is a search for a dialog.

We release this sixth volume of our series, which coincides with the beginning of the 1980's, with an anxiety which can hardly be concealed. What can those in Eastern Europe who believe in free thought and democratic self-government expect in a decade which begins with two such memorable events as the over-running of Afghanistan and the exile of Sakharov from Moscow? What can this series expect, a series begun with the intent of a free exchange of ideas (again, a dialog) and against which the domestic state apparatus stands in battle array?

The contemporary Hungarian regime wanted to distinguish itself by its tolerance from the similar associated systems in Eastern Europe. But it soon became clear that the tolerance lasted only so long as no more serious challenge was attempted. The exchange of manuscripts by a few Budapest intellectuals forced to the perimeter was enough to win them the unceasing and ubiquitous attention of the police. It should be added that in the countries of the existing goat the employer--as Clausewitz already observed so tellingly--is a continuation of the police by other means. The right to work is written into our constitutions (whose inspiration was that?) but it is not written that all one needs to do to lose this right is to write one or two dissertations on the darker colors of the goat. On the one hand the Hungarian government signed the Helsinki agreement; on the other hand it seizes without winking those postal consignments the "ideological profile" of which does not please it. The so-called customs guards at Hegyeshalom (it is good that sometimes they do levy duties too) go into the pockets of the unsuspecting traveller without any visible disturbance of conscience or in the better case ask with piercing eyes: "Manuscripts, letters, political books?" (MAGYAR FUZETEK has the great distinction of being especially inquired about by these authorities.) In this atmosphere of police sensitivity even the dreams of freer communication get frayed.

We note with increasing anxiety the measures being implemented against those in Budapest who "think differently." As a reminder, several hundred Hungarian intellectuals protested against the sentences imposed on the Prague Chartists at the end of October 1979; some of them turned to

Kadar and asked him to use his influence in the interest of obtaining the release of those sentenced. Although this movement was born from a moral motive the tone of the petitions clearly indicated that the signatories understood the difference--advantageous to them--between the Czech and Hungarian situation. But the fact that there was such a protest and that those participating in it did not wait for permission to speak before a broader public raised the question: Can one be, is one permitted to be a citizen in Hungary, that is to take a stand (and in this case act) independent of official frameworks, the party and the state? Since the action was not directed against the Hungarian regime--it was not they who had imprisoned the Chartists--it was a clear case of political dialog. The hidden message was something like this: We are disturbed by what is happening in the fraternal countries; our leaders should reassure us that human rights are not so threatened here!

The answer, unfortunately, was negative--and it was not in code. "Our party and our state", following the reflexes inherited from Dzherdzhinskiy, immediately recognized the old, eternal Enemy behind the desire for citizen independence. Kadar made this point very strongly at a plenum specially convened for this purpose and the machine went to work to separate the misguided from the leaders and to deal with the latter according to their merits. (See the letter at the end of this volume.) By the middle of 11 March people had been dismissed from their jobs or had been informed that their work contracts would not be extended.

This is the source of our anxiety. There is a chill in the air, perhaps somewhat less than in neighboring countries but enough to freeze the buds of autonomy. "Make a move, little fellow, and we will confiscate what you write, think or say. And if you want to play the independent citizen, you go on the black list." The message of the Authorities is as transparent as the water of a bubbling mountain brook. It is on your own head if you act hereafter as if you were not a subject. (Fortunately there are those who do so anyway. See the Hegedus--Foldvari--Zsille conversation below.) Grass cannot grow, thought cannot take wing and bread cannot reach the mouth of your family without the permission of the authorities. The existing goat will not tolerate any counter-bleating.

Naturally it can mitigate our emotions if we think about the new types of horror in our century and we can derive hope from the fact that the situation is still better in Hungary than in Romania, Czechoslovakia or the Soviet Union. It is even better than in Poland in that there is something to eat and in that they do not summon members of the opposition--as they do there now every week--for 48 hours of softening up by the police. The internal monolog of Libertarius is connected with such thoughts and there is no Hungarian who would be left entirely cold by a comparison with our neighbors. This gives rise to fear and relative joy alike. In moments of optimism one is even inclined to suspect complicity in the moderation of the Kadar crowd.

For our part we do not believe it but we do believe that the Kadar regime is striving for real successes and thus it has need of the "people." This also explains the refraining from excesses. In any case, what is in the center of attention on the threshold of the 1980's is not the restlessness of the intellectuals but rather the economic crisis and how to get out of it. In the opinion of "Zagoni" this task cannot be solved by the Hungarian regime. But on the level of economic policy one can expect differences in shading and there are differences which are more than gradations. In the given case it is important that the government has chosen a policy of accommodation to world economic realities and wants to make this more efficient by using market tools. It would be an exaggeration to call this a "reform", the emphasis is on unpopular measures (price increases, wage freezes, reductions) which they want to implement with or without the market. Citing the reform, which has faded a bit since 1968, serves rather to sweeten the bitter pill. But even this has significance for the efforts aimed at economic rationality; this trend requires the open or silent support of economic experts. This is not the moment for mass persecution of another--more independent--group of the intelligentsia.

Is it self-deception to have faith in the above ("objective") interdependence or is this really where the dog is buried? One way or the other we cannot expect too much from the existing goat. For our part we face the decade without illusions and we only hope that despite the harshness of the times and the pitiable paucity of our resources we will still have occasion to be of some little service.

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CONTROVERSIAL SOCIOLOGISTS DISCUSS POLITICS, ECONOMIC REFORM

Paris MAGYAR FUZETEK in Hungarian No 6, 1980 pp 9-29

[Full text of interview by Austrian journalist, in Budapest in late fall 1979, with Andras Hegedus, Tamas Foldvari and Zoltan Zsille: "Is There Need for an Opposition in Eastern Europe?"]

[Text] The following conversation was instigated and conducted by an Austrian journalist in Budapest, in late fall 1979, not long after the waves caused by the Prague trial and the collection of signatures for a Hungarian protest connected with this. Fairly extensive excerpts from this conversation have been published in German and French in Vienna in the journals TAGEBUCH and FORUM (January 1980 and January-February 1980 respectively) and in Paris in issue No 3 of the journal L'ALTERNATIVE (March 1980). The full text appears here for the first time.

Hegedus, Foldvari and Zsille represent different shadings of Hungarian opposition thinking but they have a common starting point in that all of them belonged to the communist party at some time. One of them (Foldvari) voluntarily left the party in 1968 as a protest against the occupation of Czechoslovakia. The other two were expelled in 1973 (Hegedus) or 1974 (Zsille). All three have a common trade, sociology. But their ages divide them into two groups; Hegedus was born in 1922 and played a substantial political role in the years between 1944 and 1956; Foldvari was born in 1939 and Zsille in 1942 and both began their professional careers in the 1960's in the Sociological Research Group founded by Hegedus. At the time of the interview only Foldvari had a job, as a colleague in the Higher Education Pedagogical Research Center. Andras Hegedus has lived as a pensioner for years. Until 1975 Zoltan Zsille was a teacher in the National Leader Training Institute; since then he has been an intellectual

forced to the perimeter living from odd jobs. Hegedus publishes primarily abroad and Zsille primarily in manuscript form but now and then one of their writings will appear in the official press too.

The following conversation begins as an exchange concerning the 1968 reform, weaving from there to the question of the political situation and the opposition. The final passages offer an insight into the political credo of all three.

Interviewer: How do you see, in historical perspective, the reform which began in 1968?

Andras Hegedus: We have to go back to the middle 1960's when reform attempts began virtually throughout Eastern Europe, primarily under the influence of neo-liberal economists who played a significant role in the power structure. The chief motif of these efforts was a restoration of market relationships.

The party and government resolution pertaining to the introduction of economic reform was born in Hungary in 1966. But the reform period lasted a very short time without being disturbed, only until 1970 when internal party criticism against the reform began and a wing opposed to the reform developed. Those opposed to the reform won at a session of the Central Committee in November 1972. It appeared then that very serious counter-reform measures would be taken. The most significant of these was the attack against the household plots but the power of the branch ministries increased again too simultaneously decreasing the independence of the enterprise leaderships.

A new period began around 1974-1975 when it was recognized especially that the measures taken against the household plots had had a catastrophic effect and they returned to supporting small farming. Because of the increase in oil prices and our unfavorable western trade balance producers' prices had to approach the world market prices. But in this latter regard we must emphasize the difference between the period between 1968 and 1970 and, let us say, the last two years; today the world market prices are being handed on to the enterprises primarily by central bureaucratic institutions, for example the Materials and Price Office.

What Got the Economic Reform in Trouble?

Tamas Foldvari: Looking back from today the reform was poorly put together and began inconsistently from the beginning. I think it was clear to many leaders even then that it was impossible to carry out an economic reform if we left the political institutions entirely untouched and did not deal with a reform of them. Many felt this but they did not talk about it. This theme was tabu at the time of the debates connected with economic reform,

especially after the events in Czechoslovakia when they had to emphasize that this was an economic reform and had nothing to do with politics. At the same time something new took place in ideology; it was recognized that the party does not define all-social interests, that they arise from the struggle of partial interests. No one thought it through, none of the official ideologists, that to the extent that partial interests are realized they had to be organized and this had to take place "above" the economic sphere. Thus there was a need for the expression of political interests if such a mechanism was to be able to really work. So they created an economic model the political consequences of which they remained silent about. Simply because the international political situation required it. Because they saw what consequences it had led to in Czechoslovakia where they were trying to implement much more modest economic reform ideas when the political institutions began to move as well.

Actually, it could be seen in 1968 that this half-way reform was doomed to failure but we did not think that the counter-attack and the failure would come so soon. I think one reason for this was that the large Hungarian enterprises, which had grown too large--especially in heavy industry--simply started to fall apart because the labor force left and completely chaotic conditions developed, they just could not fulfill their production plans. I add this to what Hegedus said about the household plots. The 1972 resolution also meant that 50 large Hungarian factories were selected for special support. A characteristic example of this is what happened with the Obuda Ship Factory. This factory was a typical bankruptcy case and finally they tried to get it on its feet by completely changing the production structure and turning over the reconstruction to Soviet planners.

Zoltan Zsille: If I look at the chief goals of the reform then as I see it it actually failed in 1968, at the same time it was introduced. Between 1968 and 1970 the played out phonograph record just kept turning. I believe that the reformists, at least some of them, sincerely trusted in the success of the reform plan, even with its wings clipped, believed that rationality and entrepreneurial activity which would hasten our development and increase the well-being of the people somewhat would have more effect in economic life. But today I find nothing serious in an aspiration or plan which approves the dominance of large factories which have a basically militaristic character in regard to their function and structure and which are rational exclusively from the viewpoint of power, which approves the squandering of the concentrated national property and manpower in such factories and approves the spreading of parasites over economic life. (In 1965 82 percent of the enterprises employed more than 1,000 people as compared to 58 percent in 1960.)

If you have enterprises the size of an industrial directorate then you can easily abolish the industrial directorate and give the enterprises independence. What happens is simply that the people who used to work in state administration reappear as enterprise leaders and continue the

same bureaucratic economic guidance they were performing earlier as officials. Actually, this is the cadre side of the failure. Under the heading of decentralization there was a certain dismantling of the economic apparatus of the ministries and the party so the people with leading roles in the new economic policy had experience only in the area of authoritative economic activity and since they had lost their guidance posts they regarded the introduction of the reform as a personal defeat. Naturally they did not have much interest in justifying it nor did they have much enthusiasm or ability to do so.

Hegedus: I do not agree entirely with that. In Hungary in November 1972, when the opponents of reform won, there were two things they did not achieve and this is very important from the viewpoint of understanding the situation today. They did not succeed in "purging" economic life of the reform economists although it is true that the latter were given new jobs. For example, Matyas Timar, who as deputy premier was one of the leading economists of the reform, is now director-general of the National Bank. And it was not by chance that Hungary was one of the first to establish the Central European Bank, with the participation of western banking organizations. Rezso Nyers, who as secretary of the Central Committee was the leader in preparing the reform, is now director of the Economic Sciences Institute and editor-in-chief of KOZGAZDASAGI SZEMLE. So the opponents of reform won but they were not able to purge economic life of those economists who think more rationally. The other thing was that they were not able to change the reform spirit either.

Zsille: I agree with that.

Foldvari: Let us stop a minute here; there is something else here. I mean, it was difficult to admit that the reform had failed. The "script" went on.

Hegedus: No. The "script" did not go on. For three years, from the beginning of 1973 to about the end of 1975, they did not talk officially about the reform. But you are right that a campaign of criticism against the reform did not begin either. They simply forgot that an economic reform had been introduced in Hungary in 1968. But beginning in 1976 they have been talking about economic reform again and this is a very important change.

Interviewer: But the power structure and praxis did not change.

Hegedus: In my opinion the changes affected various strata of society to a very great extent. Between 1968 and 1970, in the real reform period, as Foldvari has noted already, the situation of the workers of the more mobile units improved to a very great degree. The young workers left en masse from heavy industry, from the large enterprises in general, from the economic units with less mobility, and the ageing of the large factories

began. And the situation of the village population is entirely different if the government is supporting the household plots. So what is involved is not merely internal, power politics changes but changes which really affect the masses. After November 1972 there was a very important measure--we are just now feeling its consequences--which significantly raised the wages of workers in large industry over night. Without any backup cover. This, together with the increase in oil prices, started the gradual piling up of indebtedness.

Zsille: The wage increase was the result of the economic struggle of the workers. The chief method of this struggle was labor force migration. It was a generally recognized phenomenon, condemned in economic journalism, that a poorly paid worker would go elsewhere, generally to some auxiliary plant of a producer cooperative--this was the "hotbed of sin"--and get wages which were a few forints higher. If the economic persecution was successful and the auxiliary plant was abolished or dismantled then the worker went back to his old job and got that wage which he might have demanded in vain earlier.

Foldvari: In any case I am convinced that the period in which the reform was being prepared was a positive one. People became generally aware of how problematic a central plan directive system was. And a reform was introduced which succeeded in awakening a certain optimism in rather broad strata which were otherwise politically indifferent. The reform was also positive in that it increased the viability of the system and was able to maintain for a time a relatively balanced, tranquil political atmosphere. But the reform had the serious disadvantage that it postponed essential changes which had been due for a long time. It prolonged the consolidation but in a way reminiscent of the bad housewife who sweeps the dirt under the rug. Because in Hungary, from 1967 to 1975 and to a certain extent even today, the economy was the only thing talked about. Our papers write only about the economy and public thinking, to a crucial extent, is only about the economy. There is a tacit agreement according to which politics is untouchable so it is not worthwhile to talk about it.

Hegedus: I would not make the reform responsible for the fact that public thinking is so centered on the economy. This has been true in the Eastern European countries almost from the beginning. They always exaggerated the social significance of economic development even when they succeeded in satisfying basic needs. At the same time very little is said about the arrangements of society, about how people live, their way of life and their consumption models.

Interviewer: Is this because Eastern Europe was so backward, for historical reasons, and because the emphasis was put on heavy industry after the war because of the cold war?

Hegedus: We should not forget that to a very large extent industrialization began in the last quarter of the last century, primarily in Central

Eastern Europe but also in the western half of Czarist Russia. Hungary, for example, had a relatively developed infrastructure (roads, railroads and such things) by the time of World War II. Of course this suffered very sensitive damage in the war. We cannot judge post-war development realistically because we do not know what this society would have been capable of with its present power arrangements if it had not had to arm itself. Military preparations put these countries in a very disadvantageous position economically, as compared to the West. When I read analyses by western economists about Eastern Europe it always makes me boil because they almost completely ignore the fact that what we have here, actually, to a very large extent are munitions industry economies; a smaller economic potential is in an arms race with a western economic potential which is much more powerful.

Price Increases and the Public Mood

Interviewer: What effect are the extraordinary price increases having on society? Are people accepting the "world market" explanation? How far can prices be increased in such a way that the increase in income does not keep up without the price increases eliciting a reaction which goes beyond tavern grumbling?

Zsille: I very much dislike the idea according to which, The worse the better. But, unfortunately, I must admit that now, after the long period of political apathy and indifference, when the situation is deteriorating, people's eyes are slowly beginning to open. Those whose fathers made jokes, with police humor, about how little this country works and how well it lives are beginning to notice that they were making fun not only of loafers and shirkers, but also of those who worked the hardest, to take care of their bare essentials or to raise their standard of living. While this was being presented as a gift of the state the regime was committing serious mistakes which wasted a large part of the strength of the working classes on things which made the country poorer. The basic situation has not changed now but now that the economic failure has become obvious perhaps people will see more clearly that they can rely only on themselves and only that can be theirs which they produce themselves, if in some way they succeed in organizing their self-protection also. They are seeing that virtually nothing has been done here to ensure economic progress, that the leadership has no idea what to do when those world market effects "ripple" in. It is becoming obvious that a fumbling, weak and irresolute leadership is being faced with an economic failure . . . it caused itself with its neglect. If there is dissatisfaction it . . . hardly any other remedy than a show of force.

Foldvari: Zsille is speaking here in the name of those people who have awakened to these things. Certainly very many people are beginning to think this way. At the same time the official organs are saying that the difficult situation was caused largely by outside factors and only partly by our own rather indolent work, our deficiencies and bad organization

and by the fact that we were not paying attention. It is clear, too, that the leadership is not shifting everything onto the populace but rather is mystifying things when it puts the blame on outside factors, saying: The situation is bad here, these are hard times, because there are crisis phenomena worldwide.

Where I argue with Zsille is that there are still rather broad strata who have not awakened or where the dissatisfaction remains at the level of tavern grumbling; and these may be in the majority. There are also certain intellectual strata who remain silent because they are in a privileged position and their privileges are still worth more than the difficulties the price increases mean for them; because of their privileges they are willing to live a little more poorly. In addition there are strata who can compensate rather well for the price increases because of their position in the second economy. For them it is just an acceleration of the inflationary spiral and they are happy to be a part of it. So, in my opinion, the dissatisfaction is not so unambiguous or so general. It is true that Zsille's judgment is closer to the truth than the official opinion is, but we should look at this with a little more differentiation. Unfortunately we have no organizations which would be able to measure the mood of the populace so we are forced to rely on guesswork and personal impressions.

Hegedus: I would approach the question a little differently. I must say that the price increases this summer were an absolute necessity; it would have been better to do it a year earlier but it is a great advantage that it was not done a year later. You know, the economic situation of the country has deteriorated to such an extent that for a long time an economic-political leadership could not have undertaken this. From this viewpoint we must see how much more courageous the Hungarian economic leadership is than the Polish. But I completely agree that the causes as a result of which the economic situation deteriorated so much should have been discussed more openly. In the press they generally refer to work discipline; but I think the most important problem is that economic life is encumbered with bureaucratic growths which have made themselves completely exempt from any sort of supervision, even party supervision. These bureaucratic growths eat up a significant part of our investment goods; and society, indeed the political leadership, does not know to what a great extent the material goods of the country are being wasted. At the same time I give contemporary Hungarian economic policy credit for the fact that when they went to the prices they did not restrict the production and import of consumer goods in such a way as to lead to more serious shortages.

The fact that the Hungarian people accepted the price increases the way they did I attribute, not least of all, to the fact that there are no serious shortages of goods in Hungary as there are in any neighboring country. It is well known that in our country the per capita agricultural export is quite high as compared to the other Eastern European

countries, but it is less well known that the per capita agricultural import is also quite high; but this can be seen in the shops and it helps keep the public mood balanced. In any case I believe that no one who feels responsibility for our society can have the goal of having the price increases cause mass dissatisfaction. But those who have some autonomy--this pertains to the intellectuals, to the worker organizations and to the workers themselves--should force the economic leadership as much as possible to seek the cause of our present difficulties in the power structure itself.

Let Us Also Call It The "Existing Goat"

Interviewer: But is this system capable of reform? Can such autonomy, such defense of interests be ensured?

Hegedus: We must divide your question into two parts. As for rational reform in economic life there are, in my opinion, very serious forces moving to realize this in the leadership, primarily in the financial bureaucracy. It is another question, however, whether the political leadership would tolerate the creation or existence of the various autonomies without which more significant social reforms cannot be imagined.

Interviewer: There have not been such in Hungary for the last 22 years.

Hegedus: Actually I not only hope but also have faith that the leadership will tolerate this. They understand that without the development of such autonomous organizations these societies are simply paralyzed and the effect of this is unconditionally negative. The creation of an authentic socialist democracy, in contrast to bourgeois democracy, is a historical necessity. But in my opinion these autonomous movements will have to limit themselves in a certain sense. They will have to give up the traditional goal of politics, the acquisition of power or even shaking the power. They will have to limit their activity to exercising a certain supervision over various institutions of the power structure and giving expression to social pressure. So, in my opinion, they will even have to give up the more distant goal of becoming political parties.

I have in mind a democratic developmental perspective in which the power structure will be able to avoid more serious crises. But the development and modernization of the structure will happen not primarily as a result of higher initiative, as I myself thought in the 1960's, but rather because certain problems become external, from the viewpoint of the power structure, and fall under external social judgment. Thus a social public opinion will develop which can aid the modernization of the power structure and the gradual liquidation of those bureaucratic growths which simply paralyze contemporary economic-political life.

Interviewer: There was one violent attempt to change the status quo in Eastern Europe--the Hungarian 1956. There was one democratic attempt which wanted that about which Hegedus spoke just now--the Czechoslovak 1968. Both attempts failed. Is not Hegedus viewing the situation too optimistically?

Zaile: There is a difference between us here in the critique of the system. Hegedus, as an internal critic, attributes to the leading forces a commitment to values which are identical to his own, socialist values. As he sees it the typical representatives and leaders of the system are basically committed to democratic progress and economic prosperity, are interested in seeing that society is not immobilized in Hungary. But as I see it the strongest interest groups, which, among other things, rely on those gigantic bureaucratic growths which have developed in the economy, are interested in maintaining here a certain continuity. They want us to develop continuously--who knows to what extent or where--but in the meantime they want society to be immobilized because this lack of mobility means the stability of the power, the stability of their power. The criticism of Hegedus is an internal criticism because he hypothesizes an identity of values although there may be a sharp difference in views between Hegedus and the official position in regard to how and in what institutional system these values should be realized.

In my opinion if we call socialist those values which in large part are general democratic and humanist values and if we attribute those values to those forces then we are behaving as the little kids did with the wolf in the fable. The wolf covered his paws with paste and flour, he ate chalk and made his voice sound like the mother goat, he presented himself as the mother goat--but he remained a wolf. We could agree to call the wolf the "existing" goal, at least until the mother goat reappears. But I do not believe that a wolf can actually become a goat.

Foldvari: A completely rigid and immobilized political structure in which the basic institutions are left untouched or in which there are at most such timid experiments as permitting several candidates in a few electoral districts (and then withdrawing even this concession), in the final analysis such a structure could lead to a violent explosion in every Central Eastern European state which has democratic traditions. This is how it has been in the past and one must reckon with it in the future also. As the economic situation worsens, as the political tension increases and as we approach what may become a permanent cold war the danger of a violent explosion increases in these countries. Only a clever leadership will be able to prevent it. I am not interested in the question of whether the leaders are goats or wolves; if they are clever men then they will see the danger and do everything to give some movement to the political structure.

I do not believe that the opposition forces would have to limit themselves in the sense Hegedus says. I think that the introduction of a certain

real pluralism is possible in these countries without any substantial change in the character of the main power, without modifying the power bloc status of these countries and without upsetting the international status quo. The functioning of a certain real, legitimate opposition is possible independent of whether or not similar trends develop in, for example, the Soviet political system.

I think this because these straining forces and explosion-like events--and naturally they always end in failure--always give notice of themselves in advance. We are now witnesses of the fact that here in Central Eastern Europe--look only at the developments of the past one or two years in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Romania--forces have appeared which foretell events. A clever leadership must reckon with these forces, must pay attention to these signs. And the worst method of dealing with them is simply to increase repression. They must try to come to an understanding with these forces, with the various representatives of these forces; they must strive for agreement and must make it possible for these forces to organize themselves into a real political force, without changing the character of the main power and still honoring the international status quo. The form (party, opposition organization, etc) is secondary. In any case the basic requirement is for political reform in these countries so that the communist parties which monopolize the leadership should give up their traditional idea according to which they should constitute their own opposition. They must see that the opposition is outside of them and that this opposition should not be considered or called an enemy. They must accept it as an opposition, thus making it possible for it to become legitimate in some form. If they do not do this then they are bringing some sort of violent explosion closer. This is my opinion.

Searching For the Forces of Democratic Change

Interviewer: How do you see your role as autonomous intellectuals? What do you count on after the signature action of last October?

Hegedus: Naturally everyone can only speak in his own name since we have no sort of organization in the name of which we could act as spokesman. Foreigners frequently ask me this question. Once in Paris, after one of my lectures, a Czech writer jumped up and began to shout, "Who are you? A prophet? A Marxist? An anti-Marxist? A critic of the system? A leader of the system?"

I think that my political role ended once and for all in October 1956. So I myself do not want to participate in any sort of political opposition movement, especially not in a leading role. Nor do I consider myself to be in opposition in the strict sense of the word. I am not working out political platforms in opposition to the program of the present political leadership.

What I do fully undertake is nothing more than critical social science thinking which strives for publicity. I want to preserve my autonomy in this sense. Zeille is right in that this criticism remains internal criticism in a certain sense, and I do not want to change into an external critic; I am striving to analyze those social questions which appear to me to be most important, decreasing my self-censorship to the minimum possible.

Interviewer: Despite the fact that you were expelled from the party?

Hegedus: Despite the fact that I was expelled from the party and cannot teach at the university.

Interviewer: Are you a non-party Bolshevik?

Hegedus: No. I can no longer assume the Bolshevik epithet.

Interviewer: A non-party Marxist?

Hegedus: The answer cannot be simply yes or no. I have gone through nearly every possible stage--I was an orthodox Marxist who believed in the dogmas, I was a Marxist influenced by Lukacs who criticized the dogmas but mystified the Marxist methodology, repeating with Lukacs that "it can be hypothesized but not permitted" that science refutes all the dogmas of Marxism, we could be Marxists even then in that we approached questions on the basis of the revolutionary Marxist methodology. I also discovered that what the "Marxist value system" is is very relative. At the same time I assume the Marxist tradition and follow it in my work. So, on the basis of an individual value commitment I consider myself part of a current of Marxism which incorporates very many trends. I will not leave this and do not want to leave it, even if this is not now so popular in the West.

In the 1960's, as a reformer, I expected the changes to come from reforms coming from above and so I undertook to be a sort of prompter. I would not do so now. Now I see primarily in a public opinion which separates itself from the power structure, in social publicity, that force which can lead to a greater realization of socialist values in these societies. If such a separate force is not created--a force which I have been calling social control or in its more developed form social rule--then really serious, radical reforms cannot take place in the power structure. In this sense I have stepped out of the magic circle of reform thinking.

Interviewer: You have signed your solidarity with people who do not at all share your views. Why?

Hegedus: Solidarity is an entirely different thing from ideological agreement. Here at home, for example, among friends we debate about our views

openly and often very sharply, but this does not mean that we do not have solidarity with one another.

Interviewer: You, Zsille, were expelled from the MSZMP five years ago, you lost your job and are a so-called marginal intellectual. How do you see your position in regard to this entire question?

Zsille: Here I can only speak in generalities. One of my tasks also, like those similar to me, is to survive these years in relatively good spiritual and physical health. So I am making use of those possibilities, not too many of them, for sociological work. There is a political aspect to this We must seek out those forces in the various social strata which could play a role in a democratic change. Domestically and abroad alike. Because I think that the clocks in Eastern Europe are more or less running on the same time now. I am talking about those who are the suffering subjects of conditions today but who could be active participants in an Eastern European democratic transformation.

We should be thinking--on the basis of the aspirations and experiences of these forces or people among other things--what we will do if a favorable opportunity arises. In what direction is a transformation possible--leaving unchanged and continuing to respect the main power or not doing so How can this region be led back to the road of democratic development--because I think this would be the task

Foldvari: Those civil and political rights which our regime also has undertaken to respect are rights with which one can and must live. I respect them and I expect others to do the same. In any case I myself am an "opponent" of the present system of government because I do not consider it a good system. But for the moment I am only an intellectual opponent; I see no sign that those who see the present political arrangements being forced toward reform could act as a legitimate opposition. I would consider it very desirable if in the future we could avoid violent shocks because--I agree with my friend Zsille that the clocks of Eastern Europe are running on about the same time--these could hardly be limited to a single country. And it would be very desirable if we could avoid a chaotic state of affairs in Eastern Europe because only bad political decisions can be made in such a state of affairs, only those political groups could seize the helm which are capable only of making things worse. Now is the time for the Eastern European governments to start a dialog with the various groups and trends which have--actually and potentially--different opinions, with the churches and other groups; it is time for them to see that the institutional system is developed in a direction where these groups could have a say. When these groups can finally articulate their aspirations and express their interests then they will be able to act in political life with their ideas. As soon as the power gives a sign that it is inclined

toward such a dialog and is ready to give room to such institutional changes and reforms, I would be among the first to undertake this risk, and not only the risk but also the difficulties of making a beginning.

I say this despite the fact that actually I was always a "legalist", that is I was never inclined toward any activity which officialdom might feel to be hostile or persecutable--even if I considered it entirely just. At the same time I did not hide under a bushel what I thought about these politics. Nor do I deny that I do not consider my representative in the present parliament to be my representative, I did not vote for him and I will not vote for him. I would very much like it if it were possible, if the government would make it possible, for me and for people who think as I do to have a way to send our own representatives to those places where real politics takes place. I have faith that this will happen in a relatively short time.

Interviewer: The Eastern European peoples have always been divided and turned against one another with the slogan "divide et impera." The chauvinist or nationalist voices are rather strong everywhere. Can you still imagine that the Eastern European opposition will coordinate its activities?

Hegedus: It follows directly from what I have said that I am skeptical about the utility of cooperation among the political opposition movements developing in the various Eastern European countries. I am not talking about the reality but about the utility. It is my profound conviction that in the near future it is not primarily the political opposition which will bring democratic changes in Eastern Europe, but rather the unfolding of various types of social autonomy. These do not absolutely have to have political goals. Nor do I cherish illusions in regard to a multi-party system. As for the picture of a desirable future, I am thinking in terms of a pluralistic structure but not in terms of a multi-party system. I am not looking for how to introduce models of bourgeois democracy in Eastern Europe; rather, I am seeking an authentic socialist democratic alternative to bourgeois democracy. For me one of the most important theoretical problems here is what sort of economic base could be found for socialist democracy (the economic base for bourgeois democracy is bourgeois private property).

Földvari: I did not talk about the coordination of opposition activity either. What I was talking about was that the "explosions" could come at the same time, considering that these countries are struggling with similar problems. In addition, the mentality and the modes of political reaction of the populace are becoming increasingly similar and I suspect that from this point of view the old national differences are being obliterated.

Interviewer: When there were price increases in Hungary the Romanian press published this in full in a prominent place, partly to justify their gasoline-hard currency decree. But the Hungarian organs did not tell the populace about this until there was a great outcry on 1 August when crowds were waiting at the border, and this got a lot of publicity. It was beneficial for the government, after the price increases, that people were not talking about what had gone up in price but rather about what was happening on the Romanian border. So it is always possible to divert people's attention from the important things, isn't it?

Hegedus: Of course. One cannot deny that.

Zsille: That's the way it is. This is why I say that there is no alternative to uniting. Of course, I also do not imagine that the opposition will organize itself into some sort of political party in every country and then form from these some sort of internationale God forbid! I consider communication among the opposition forces very important. Precisely because in the course of history these nations have been opposed to one another so often and have been used against their own interests.

Interviewer: What do you expect from the Western left, from the social democrats and the Eurocommunists? What can they do in the interest of a dialog?

Hegedus: There is a view according to which the left must break contacts with the Eastern European countries if they do not respect human rights. I take the opposite position. Contacts should be expanded rather than restricted. But it would be appropriate for these leftist organizations to get their information directly from non-official people too. They should not develop their own positions only via official organs and indirectly via various samizdat products; they should demand to be able to meet with such people as, let us say, Professor Havemann in the GDR. Just as official delegations visiting Western Europe from Eastern Europe meet with opposition personalities there too.

Foldvari: The parallel is not entirely perfect

Hegedus: I am not thinking only of state leaders but, for example, of journalists and members of cultural delegations.

Foldvari: I consider this important too but let me add that those struggling for democracy in Eastern Europe do not see their allies exclusively on the Marxist left in Western Europe. The liberal and radical parties and movements and other movements and institutions could also be our allies in our struggle to win real democracy in these countries.

Interviewer: I might note that no one in Eastern Europe can expect anything from certain cold war elements

Foldvari: Naturally the conservative "establishment" is not our ally, nor are the munitions manufacturers and the military "ultras."

Zsille: True, but democracy is not exclusively the cause of the left.

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SUMMARIES OF 'MAGYAR FUZETEK' ARTICLES

Paris MAGYAR FUZETEK in Hungarian No 6, 1980

[pp 30-53] "Short Range Hungarian Realpolitik" by Libertarius

[Summary] The anonymous author, who lives in Budapest, is the author of "Hungary, 1984" dedicated to the memory of Istvan Bibó, the manuscript of which reached the West in 1979. Two excerpts are given here, an overview of the chief thesis and an imaginary dialog with a good natured conformist.

A Country of Compromises

[Summary] The Lenin "revolution" is barren, it deforms the ideal of socialism and preserves reactionary traditions. This is more apparent now that "Marxism-Leninism" has broken down. The Russians are applauding the spread of Russian power, Romania is ruled by a nationalistic dictatorship, East Germany has a technocratic socialism like that desired by the German reaction in the 1920's and Czechoslovakia is ruled by Slovak fascists. Only Yugoslavia and Poland seem to have gone beyond their anti-democratic traditions.

Hungary is the "country of compromises," but they are not productive ones. In past compromises sought by the nobility nationalism was "more Hungarian" than democracy and true independence was not desired. Laszlo Neneth treated this problem correctly in the 1930's. The independence of Hungary could only have been a transition to a Danubian or Eastern European federation. As Istvan Bibó has shown, the compromise of 1867 led to the Horthy system. From 1711 to 1945 all the compromises were based on short range realpolitik and prevented the development in Hungary of a political culture in the modern European sense.

The Happiest Barracks

[Summary] A well meaning and sensible man admits that there is no real opposition in Hungary but he argues that there is less need for it here

than in other satellite countries. Conditions are more bearable in Hungary and we could only make things worse. But I would add that since our situation is more favorable we have greater opportunities to improve it. The Poles have built a strong opposition. Why have we not done so?

My opponent would remind me that I myself said that in 1956 the Hungarian people exceeded the possible frameworks of democratization and so the process was reversed. Now we are ruled by realists, but there is some freedom of expression. A novel by Ferenc Karinthy was published because Kadar intervened; a film by Ferenc Kosa virtually said that 1956 was a revolution and it was not banned because Kadar intervened; Gyorgy Konrad has described Hungary as a real hell

Here I interrupt my opponent to ask how he knows that Kadar intervened on these occasions and he answers, "They say he did." He goes on: "Do you think that Hungary under Imre Nagy would have been any different than it is under Kadar? Not a bit! Our slow liberalization survived the fall of Khrushchev and it survived 1968 because the Russians do not want to stop it at the price of another 1956. Kadar has played their own card against them. Even Laszlo Nemeth gave his service to the compromise of 1959."

I answer: "This is religion--we have become a religious people! You say that all that happens is good because it is the least bad possible. Every morning you bow down and say: There is one God, Janos Kadar, and Gyorgy Aczel is his prophet! I say, let us turn from this religion so that we might be healthier. Let us say what we believe and if we cannot say that let us say nothing. Let us begin to talk about the culture of politics."

[pp 54-61] "The Next Decade" by Sociologus

[Summary] This excerpt is from a collection titled "From The Other Shore." It is based on a 1978 conversation between two young Budapest sociologists, Peter Farkas and Gabor Nemeth, and a 45 year old colleague. The material collected in response to a questionnaire came to several hundred pages and was circulated in manuscript. The questionnaire had been sent to more than 100 Hungarian intellectuals and about 40 responded in writing or verbally.

New people are coming to power for whom the defining event was not the war or 1956. The old guard from the Soviet emigration is dying out. There is a trend within the present leadership--Rezső Nyers spoke openly of it in a statement to a Swedish paper--which would like it better if the socialist countries did not march together toward socialism or communism, if each went its own way, knapsack on the back. They see trouble in the fact that economically we are completely bound into the CEMA system. I can imagine the day when people like that will have a say.

Radical change cannot come as long as we are members of CEMA and the Warsaw Pact, but CEMA and the Warsaw Pact are subject to forces which could cause structural change or their dissolution. I was very proud in my youth when I predicted the Soviet-Chinese split (I think we came very close to a Soviet-Chinese war). Now China is trying to change so it can do business with the West. In two and a half years, perhaps, there may be a multi-party system and elections in China, although this western superstructure would not change the Asian orientation of Chinese society.

If there are hostilities, even if the war is far from us, it would probably mean a tightening of political life. This will increase dissatisfaction. Even if hostilities become general not all weapons will be used. What would Hungary's fate be in such a situation? I feel that it would be absolutely necessary to take power from the hands of those who have thus far reserved to themselves the right of decision. Being on the border of the empire we have a chance of turning in the direction of a neutral policy. If war breaks out in Western Europe we would increase our chances of survival if we replaced the leadership. If war breaks out in Asia there might be a regime in Moscow, replacing the present one, which would make far-reaching and surprising political concessions; we should take advantage even of apparent concessions in order to fight in a legal form.

An illegal organization which might prepare for such changes is very dangerous and has little chance of success. But we can develop secret communications the way prisoners do. The events will prompt people to act and they will do what the situation requires. Sooner or later there will be such events. The "nothing can be done" form of behavior is going out of style. I feel there will be such economic deterioration that more and more people will say that something has to be done.

[pp 62-69] "The Dilemma of the Hungarian Leaders" by Gyorgy "Zagoni"

[Summary] "Zagoni" is a young Hungarian researcher living in Budapest. This is an abridged version of a study written in the summer of 1979.

Now that the signs of crisis are more difficult to hide the question arises: Can the present Hungarian leadership find a solution to the multiplying problems? Is an internal structural change needed and what are its prospects?

It was recognized in 1956 that in addition to faithfulness to Moscow there had to be a palpable increase in the standard of living of the working masses and some concessions to the self-expression of the creative intelligentsia if the regime was to survive. These two types of conditions can no longer be satisfied simultaneously. Increasing economic growth means

increasing Western export. This will require a radical change in foreign economic policy--joining the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, signing agreements with the European Community and not waiting for CEMA to act sometime around the year 2000. Translated from the language of economics to the language of politics this means that socialism can be built in Hungary only to the extent that the Hungarian economy is integrated into the capitalist world economy. This means: Either faithfulness to Moscow, Or improving the standard of living.

Since the regime cannot resolve this dilemma there is a short circuit and the leadership cannot make real decisions. The centrist leadership does not act--and they use Moscow as an excuse for their impotence. If Moscow permitted a change then professional understanding rather than political reliability would be the basis for appointing enterprise leaders. The new middle class of technocrats and managers would develop its own political elite and eventually take power.

If the Soviet Union can take over Iran and Saudi Arabia it would kill two birds with one stone--it would acquire new, cheap energy and achieve the Finlandization of Western Europe. If the empire does not achieve this goal--due to the resistance of China and the West or due to its own weakness--then decay will unavoidably set in. The signs of the breakup will appear first in the border regions of the empire. Which will happen depends on how the West reacts. In the first case the goal of the progressive forces in Eastern Europe would be physical survival and preserving the idea of democracy. In the second case the goal would be to see that Hungary and the other Eastern European countries were not buried in the ruins of the empire.

Postscript, January 1980: Things are changing quickly in the world and here at home. The empire is trying to compensate with an expansive foreign policy for the deterioration of its bargaining position. The question is, will Hungary be a hinterland country (if the empire pacifies Afghanistan before Tito dies) or a front-line country (if Tito dies first).

[pp 71-92] "The Black Economy" by Zoltan Zsille

[Summary] Excerpts from an article titled "A Study in Red and Black" prepared in 1976-1978.

An extremely centralized and accelerated industrialization has become the criterion of social-economic development. Industrialization has become a war against the economy. Two societies have developed--one for political and state administrative activities, including economic policy, and a surviving but subordinated bourgeois society actually engaged in production. The latter functions not only in the private and cooperative sector but also in those fragmented units into which state enterprises break up. The result is schizophrenia. Spontaneity and autonomy cannot be eliminated because they spring from the absurdity of total planning. Yet

the realm of spontaneity is hidden from both the public and the official society.

A counter-productive guidance system survives because at every level the same people and institutions can play both roles. This leads to the proliferation of unofficial institutions and a free or "black" market, in a word to a black economy. The first, or official, economy is the realm of economic policy. The second economy is the realm of outside jobs, of the "overtime" which permits the first to survive. The "third economy" has the same realm as the first but seeks to change the official relationships. It thus has a direct link to democratic aspirations. The "third economy" seeks a contract in which what is offered to the employer is not time but a product--even if the product takes the form of a service or of information. The chief weapon of the third economy is labor migration.

The fourth and fifth economies are the realm of unpaid work. The fourth economy was created to win back the labor force freed in the second and third economies. It usually takes the form of "social" work or labor competition. The fifth economy consists of those things which people naturally do for themselves.

Autonomy and economic security depend not on the size of one's holdings but rather on the pluralistic character of the holdings. This is a "peasant" approach; it contributes variety and is a possible answer to the challenge posed by "large scale" civilization. There is no danger of unemployment because a person with many skills can shift from one activity to another. Productivity is the key and the problems of counter-productive organization are avoided. This can be effective only when the counter-productive organization loses or abandons control.

[pp 93-102] "A Country of Free Entrepreneurs?" by Istvan Kemeny

[Summary] The author is one of the editors of MAGYAR FUZETEK, living in Paris.

Between 1953 and 1960 Hungarian economists thought that in a socialist society everyone would become a wage earner. In this sense socialism is the last stage of capitalism. They recommended uniting a free market with the wage system. These proposals were taken over by the Czech economists at the time of the Prague Spring.

The past 20 years have rendered these ideas inapplicable. Everyone now has a job as a wage earner--but this provides only the smaller part of his income. The larger part derives from the second, hidden but simpler market economy. Even in the factories the workers have won for themselves special pay for work which goes beyond the obligations of their job. So Hungary is a world of small entrepreneurs operating under severe limits deriving from the system.

Agricultural production hit a low point after the forced collectivization of 1959-1960. Production increased after the peasants won a symbiosis of a collective and private economy. The market economy then spread from agriculture to other areas of economic life. In Hungary one finds a real market but in other communist countries one finds a "shadow market"--tips and bribes--in which one does not reward extra work which increases the national product (as in Hungary) but rather rewards illegal activity in the distribution system. The difference probably is that the pre-revolutionary conditions could not be restored after 1956. But since all this is hidden and illegal the Hungarians are irrationally fearful of the future when all may be lost.

The central decisions try to plan the unplannable and to deprive individuals and groups of initiative. But the individuals and groups always come up with counter-strategies. The communist societies are not built on a consensus but on its opposite. Those playing a role in the second economy are simultaneously rebels and collaborationists.

[pp 105-118] "The Formation of the Central European National States and the Hungarian Nationality Question," by Istvan Borsody

[Summary] The author is one of the editors of *MAGYAR FUZETEK*, living in Pittsburgh.

The nationalities oppressed by Hungary at the beginning of the 20th century have now become nation states in which one-quarter of the Hungarians live as oppressed minorities. Now as then the nationality question should be regarded as the "Archimedes point" of democracy.

The sins of our neighbors must be pointed out because the cult of the "sinful Magyar" is fashionable even in Hungary, something unique in the Danube region where everyone denies his own sins. The roots of this go back to the attacks on Hungary by the victorious Western democracies after World War I. (The list of our sins had been compiled by Edward Benes in a war pamphlet.) Trianon was the crucial event in this story and the peace after World War II restored the Trianon boundaries.

The Soviet Union now maintains the Trianon system even though the 5th Congress of the Comintern called for self-determination for Hungarians in Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia in 1924. Oszkar Jaszi had predicted a United States of Europe and maybe this will happen, but the 20th century will see only the first steps. The present Hungarian regime will not even criticize the treatment of Hungarians in neighboring states. Until the Hungarian government acts the emigree protests are in vain.

[pp 119-130] "Where Did We Make the Mistake? (Concerning the National Equality of the Danube Valley Peoples)" by Dr Miklos Mester

[Summary] The author is a historian, lawyer and expert on Transylvania, living in Budapest. He was a member of parliament and a state secretary in the Horthy regime. These are excerpts from a long letter originally sent to a Budapest weekly but not published there.

The Reform leaders of 1848-1849 were not prepared to deal with the nationalities question; they insisted that only Hungarian be used in Hungary. The just demand of the nationalities was that they have equal constitutional rights as nations and not only as individuals. He who asks for this is not a nationalist. He who denies it is. Kossuth did not offer a federated state because this is what the Habsburgs were offering. Concessions without national equality were not a solution in 1848 and are not so now in 1979.

In exile in the 1860's Kossuth was forced to propose a Danubian Confederation. The states formed after World War I on the basis of Wilson's principles denied these very principles. The Horthy regime was no better. Under pressure from Hitler they gave the Germans in Hungary the "right" to be drafted into the German army. As their representative in parliament I delivered their protest to the Ministry of Defense.

The nationalities policy of Romania today does not differ from that of the 1920's. The people should have a right to cultivate their mother tongue. There must be equal national rights on the basis of self-government within state boundaries.

[pp 131-143] "Letter and Report from Slovakia--Documents From the Legal Defense Committee of the Hungarian Minority in Czechoslovakia"

[pp 131-133] "November 1979 Letter From the Committee to the Czech Civil Rights Movement in Prague"

[Summary] The region inhabited by Hungarians (who make up 4 percent of the population of the Republic and 12 percent of the population of Slovakia) shows little sign of the good times and suffers most in bad times. This is a problem for the entire Republic and not for Slovakia alone. Only Dr Kalman Janics, now retired, continues to publish his observations on this, publishing in Munich at the end of 1979, in Hungarian. He is now the most persecuted Hungarian in Czechoslovakia, but he is no longer alone.

Our Committee was formed in 1978. The following is our report on the situation. We hope that you will make our cause your own.

[pp 133-143] "Report Prepared By the Legal Defense Committee of the Hungarian Minority in Czechoslovakia for Those Participating in the Czech Civil Rights Movement"

[Summary] As a result of the situation which developed after 1968 the situation of Hungarians in Czechoslovakia has reached depths never before experienced. The Hungarians sympathized with the Czech aspiration for structural change in 1968. But in the spring of 1969 the supreme party leadership of Slovakia moved to Prague and took over political control of the country to crush the Czech democratic opposition. The CSEMADOK (Cultural Federation of Czechoslovak Hungarians) was expelled from the National Front. The recent emphasis on the industrialization of Slovakia has not affected the areas inhabited by Hungarians or Ukrainians. Hungarians often have to travel 100-150 km from their homes to their jobs and there is much hidden unemployment. Wages are the lowest in the country. People are actually fined for using the Hungarian language in some factories.

More than 20 percent of those eligible do not attend Hungarian primary schools. Only 22 percent of those 15 years old have a chance to continue their education (this includes those going to Slovak secondary schools). Only 7 percent of the age group has a chance to graduate from university or college. The Hungarians are four times worse off than the Slovaks in this respect.

In 1977 the Slovak authorities prescribed Slovak language instruction for 75 percent of the subjects after the fifth grade. This has not yet been done because of the strong resistance of the Hungarian minority.

Our committee was formed in 1978 and issued a statement defending the schools in January 1979. A May 1979 memorandum reviewed all fundamental questions. The secret police intervened and as of September 1979 an estimated 50 Hungarian intellectuals had been punished.

We are convinced that true democracy and minority rights are inseparable.

[pp 144-154] "International Agreements Pertaining to Human Rights and the Situation of the Hungarian Minority in Czechoslovakia"

[Summary] This report was prepared in February 1980 for the state and political leaders of Czechoslovakia, participants in the Helsinki Conference, the Holy See in Rome, the UN Human Rights Committee, UNESCO and the Minority Rights Group in London to point out that the Czechoslovak state, and primarily the Slovak Socialist Republic, was not fulfilling its obligations under Point VII of the chapter titled "Questions Connected With European Security" in the Closing Document of the Helsinki Conference.

The Closing Document chapter on cultural cooperation encourages cultural exchange on behalf of minorities but since 1970 there has been a decrease in the opportunities for the Hungarian citizens of Czechoslovakia to study in Hungary; they are forbidden to do so at their own expense and they are not permitted to accept state or private scholarships from Hungary. This is against the Helsinki agreement. The number and variety of books imported from Hungary decreases each year. Hungary does not have a single cultural center of a consulate nature in Slovakia although Bulgarian, Polish, GDR and Soviet cultural centers have been in operation for years. Even private use of the Hungarian language is forbidden in violation of Article 27 of the International Agreement on Civil and Political Rights. The state forbids the creation of social or political organizations to represent or defend the interests of the Hungarian minority. This violates Article 22 of the above agreement. The CSEMADOK is under the strict supervision of the Cultural Ministry of the Slovak Socialist Republic. It was expelled from the National Front in 1972 for its 1968 participation in work to restore nationality rights.

What is needed is a democratic transformation of Czechoslovak society as a whole. Our committee demands only the practical implementation of principles expressed in the Czechoslovak constitution and in international agreements to which Czechoslovakia is a party.

"Free Forum"

[pp 155-157] "An Answer to Peter Biro" by Miklos Tamas Gaspar, Budapest

[Summary] I was surprised to find my own name in the "European Journal" written by a Transylvanian Hungarian using the pseudonym of Peter Biro in Issue No 5 of MAGYAR FUZETEK. Peter Biro feels that it is absolutely necessary for the populist-nationalist-"leftist" intransigents to come to power in Budapest so that the contradictions of the society will be made manifest. And he hopes that after the eventual fall or death of Leonid Brezhnev the influence of the Stalinist forces which rely on the generals will increase and he would like this to lead to the desired collapse of the Eastern European state system. I consider this adventuristic and immoral. Hate is a poor counsellor even for so talented a man as Peter Biro. The author rejects radicalism--primarily that of the Budapest School--which is his right but he then attacks the moral integrity of the members of this circle. All this is violent intolerance. I believe that the accused, in this case myself, should not be condemned without a hearing. The author completely misunderstands my lecture in Cluj on St Anselm. I was criticizing the "fides quaerens intellectum" of Anselm and the "intellectus quaerens fidem" of Gyorgy Lukacs. (The full text will appear in the near future under the title "A Metacritical Letter Concerning the Ontology of Gyorgy Lukacs.") I can hardly agree that one can understand a philosophical essay on the basis of a news item in the Cluj UTUNK. Nor can I agree that Hungarian intellectuals who once chose and then criticized communism are alien to the Hungarian people. Let us have more pluralism, pluralists!

[pp 157-158] "The Budapest Situation" (The author wishes to remain anonymous.)

[Summary] The number of protesters showing solidarity with those in Prague and especially the fact that the list of signatures got abroad has obviously agitated the authorities. Even the "liberals" are saying it can only help the Stalinists. Kadar, for his part, announced that he was not a post office box. In November and December every signer was called in by his office chief (the more important people were called in by higher leaders, for example the first secretary of the Academy, and so forth) for a conversation which followed the same model: 1. Withdraw your signature; 2. Condemn those who got the protest letters and lists out of the country; 3. And especially disassociate yourself from the open letter of the "three" (Gyorgy Bence, Janos Kenedi and Janos Kis) which was sent to the Czech Chartists. Thus far the dismissals have affected primarily those working in the press, radio or publishing houses and those in research institutes. A number of personal tragedies since most of them are young with small children. Some are permitted to seek other work but some can get only Nigger work (as long as it lasts). Due to the economic situation the situation can only get worse this year. The scientific institutes and similar institutions will be cut back and there can hardly be any doubt who will go on the B list first.

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CEAUSESCU SPEECH AT MEETING WITH COOPERATIVE AKTIV

AU261015 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Jun 80 pp 1, 3

[Text of speech made by President Nicolae Ceausescu at 21 June meeting with cooperative aktiv and basic cadres in Bucharest]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, I want to begin by extending warm greetings and best wishes to you, the participants in this meeting and to all those who are active in the cooperative system, to the members of the production cooperatives present here on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and government and on my own behalf. (loud applause; cheers; chants: "Ceausescu-RCP")

The meeting with the basic cadres of the production cooperatives, of handicraft, agricultural and consumer cooperatives and with those who are active in people's councils, in services and small-scale industry is part and parcel of the concern of our party and state leadership with discussing, together with the basic aktiv, the problems of developing each sector and branch of activity--therefore including also this important sector of the small-scale industry, of services which play an increasingly greater role in our national economy. This meeting is also part and parcel of our practice of discussing basic development problems with those who are direct leaders of and are directly active in the various sectors. Together with those who are active in the cooperative field, in the small-scale production and in services, we want to discuss the situation existing today in these sectors and the manner in which the plan provisions are being implemented, and to establish what has to be done to implement the party program and the 12th party congress decisions under favorable conditions.

This meeting is an expression of continuously developing our socialist democracy and of the active participation of all social strata in leading the various sectors of socioeconomic activity, it is an expression of our socialist state's overall activity--this being part and parcel of the process of building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania. (loud, prolonged applause)

Yesterday's meeting extensively discussed--as I have been informed--the problems of each sector, of each cooperation union. Both achievements and a number of shortcomings were stressed; a great number of proposals were made which have to be taken into consideration. We must study these proposals and take measures to solve problems in keeping with the laws and principles of our socialist society. We must also find out why certain proposals have not been taken into consideration. In any event, each cooperative union--certainly with the approval of the government and party leadership-- must resolve or account for all the problems raised here.

If we examine the current situation and how the activity has been carried out over the past 5 years, we could state that in the field of the small-scale industrial production in cooperative units and in the units of the people's councils we have recorded positive results. An industrial production increase was recorded year by year in each one of these sectors--UCECOM [Central Union of Handicraft Cooperatives] records a 65-percent increase and CENTROCOOP [Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives] records a 70-percent increase, while agricultural cooperative units record a 98-percent increase the the people's councils a 62-percent increase. Were we to consider these increases--they must certainly be taken into consideration--we could state that we have achieved positive results, that efforts have been made and are being made to develop activity in these very important sectors.

Likewise, as regards services, UCECOM records a 97-percent increase, CENTROCOOP an 80-percent increase, agricultural cooperative units an 180-percent increase and the people's councils a 72-percent increase, which taken as a whole represents a considerable increase. Thus in this field, too, important steps have been made, positive results have been achieved, thus contributing to better meeting our working people's requirements.

Despite all this, we are realists and admit frankly that the results are not in keeping with plan provisions, especially in the field of services. They are not in keeping with requirements of the people who expect more from these organizations in the way of satisfying their day to day requirements. Unfortunately, sometimes people have to wait for a long time for the answer they need.

Therefore, without by any means belittling the good results, we must admit frankly that we are not fully satisfying the people's requirements both as regards the small-scale industry, but especially as regards services. Therefore, each one active in the sectors present at this meeting has his mission to fulfill. Returning to figures--which make us understand problems better--we note that we actually cannot be satisfied.

Some 471,000 people are active in these sectors; that is 14 percent of the workers in industry. I believe that from the point of view of personnel we are in a good position; however, as concerns industrial production

in these sectors the figure amounted to only 7.6 percent in 1979 and the envisaged figure is 7.7 percent in 1980. Thus, in comparison with the 14 percent of workers, production is only half as much which means that a worker in production cooperatives produces only half as much as a worker in industry, although normally it should be vice versa. Each cooperative member should produce more than what is produced in industry. This would mean that, given the current level, industrial production should produce not 78 billion lei but 150-160 billion lei.

This is why we cannot be satisfied with what we have achieved thus far, despite the high rates. There are a great many nonproductive personnel in these sectors, which fact exerts a negative influence on production; we must, therefore, increase the number of productive people and cut back the number of those who deal with paperwork, as we are doing in other sectors.

However, there are shortcomings also in the organizational framework of production, in manufacturing the products in demand with the people, in producing high quality products with a reduced material consumption and in making better use of raw materials. There are very serious shortcomings in this sector, in our cooperative system.

Generally our cooperative system does not discover and make better use of a number of raw and other material resources at local level. Each one looks to the center for advice and expects supply problems to be solved by the ministries, the central bodies in Bucharest, thus underrating and neglecting existing possibilities in each locality and in each county.

In the cooperative system--especially in the case of UCECOM but also in that of the Union of Consumer Cooperatives, not to mention the people's councils--there has been a tendency to organize bulk production, to build large factories, thus neglecting small-scale industry and production. Working alongside large-scale industry, copying similar enterprises, these units manufactured products of lesser quality. We have seen such phenomena also in agricultural cooperatives where industrial activities were organized that had nothing in common with their production. This problem has been solved more radically in the case of the people's councils; large industrial units were transferred to the national industry sector. I believe that that was a good step, although there are also some negative aspects since some of the products that were manufactured in those units are now no longer produced by these units.

The central and county leaderships of cooperatives did not take appropriate action, they disregarded a number of norms and recommendations and encouraged incorrect tendencies which reflected negatively on the development of small-scale industrial production and services. There are also shortcomings in ensuring the material basis which cannot be solved by each locality or county and must, therefore, be solved at central level. I know that such problems have been discussed, proposals have been made which, as I have said, must be properly studied by the leadership of each cooperative union, together with the state bodies so as to be resolved appropriately.

Taking all this into consideration, it is necessary for us to draw conclusions and learn from both what is good and from shortcomings and drawbacks and thus ensure a rapid improvement of the activity in the small-scale industry and in services. The activity in our cooperative system in the field of small-scale production and in services must be based on the 12th party congress decisions, on the program of the country's general development and of improving the material and cultural standard of our people and of proceeding to a new quality--an essential condition for building the comprehensively developed socialist society and firmly advancing toward communism. (loud, prolonged applause)

Let us proceed from the need to increase the share of small-scale industry--including arts and crafts--within our overall industrial production. Let us see that the share of small-scale industry in the total industrial production amounts to some 18-20 percent in terms of value. This means that in the next 5 years we must increase the share of production almost three times compared with today. During the next 5-year plan we must double the production of small-scale industry, so that we succeed in achieving this share. Let us propose to achieve this target by 1990 at the latest. The more we achieve during the coming 5-year plan, the better it will be! We must also more than double services so that we will be able to solve the problem of meeting the people's requirements in this important field of the quality of life and of the people's living standard.

In my opinion this is not too bold a goal. It is a necessary goal and I believe it is in keeping with the possibilities of the labor force we have available in our cooperative system. However, it is necessary for us to take a number of measures already this year. First of all, we must take action to exceed our initial plan provisions by almost 3 billion lei in our three cooperative system and in the people's councils. Let us make all necessary preparations to achieve this additional production in the coming 6 months and to thoroughly prepare for the next 5-year plan, especially for the 1981 plan.

We must better specify the field of activity of small-scale industry and achieve a certain specialization in the various cooperative systems without, however, ruling out a certain parallelism. I have been told about the proposals that several similar units should not operate in the same locality. I believe that this proposal is wrong--it shows a monopolistic tendency, so to say, a negative tendency. We should not rule out competition, but encourage it. What is wrong if people will have two similar units in the same locality to meet their needs and compete with each other so as to work better. This is a good thing and we must even encourage competition. The people should not have to depend only on one unit so that that particular unit can behave in a lordly fashion. If there are two units and people have a choice, the cooperative members will hunt for the people and not the people for the cooperative members. All units are part and parcel of our socialist system, whether they are part of the people's councils or of cooperatives, and one cannot say that

one system is better than the other--all have the same purposes: to meet people's need in the best way. We must certainly specify clearly what they have to deal with. We must give priority to the production that is not being covered by large-scale industry so as to meet the people's consumer requirements completely. What we need is not necessarily units that will produce for all our country, but units for a given town or commune, or at most for a given county and that in exceptional cases, will cooperate with other counties.

We must radically ensure opportunities for the citizens to find places where they can have their household things, both electrical appliances and personal items, repaired and we must resolve the problem of services in construction. What we need is not large units, but several units--in sectors and streets. We must give up gigantism in cooperatives and in services. Yesterday I saw a cooperative unit on Rahova Street which had some eight levels--a concentrated complex. Why do we need that? People should find units in their neighborhood to have things repaired, so that they do not have to go kilometers before finding a cooperative where it was built to "beat" industry. Television criticized the fact that transport machines are not being ensured. However, the problem must be raised vice versa: let us not spend for transportation because it is the citizen who pays for it--let us move the job nearer people. In the case of housing construction, let us ensure, apart from stores, repair centers and services to meet the people's needs.

The problem that is posed in the field of small-scale industry and in services is the elimination of the trend to large complexes, it is decentralization and getting closer to the people. This is one of the essential problems that must be solved this year and completely in 1981. Let us preserve what we have now. Let us use certain complexes for other purposes and as for immediate problems let us move jobs closer to the people. For instance, our former siphon filling stations should be opened again by making use of our cooperative system. Kiosks should be opened near people's homes where they are able to buy the various things they need.

Therefore, the first problem you are faced with is that of bringing small-scale industrial production and services closer to the people, so that they are able to benefit from them under civilized conditions and when needed. Two similar centers or units should be on the same street and the one performing best will earn more money. This is, in fact, the socialist system: he who works better and more carefully will earn more money and incomes are differentiated according to work and to how people are served.

The second problem of small-scale industry is that of performing activities that cannot be performed by large-scale industry, but by cooperating, however, with large-scale industry as small and specialized units. We must achieve this especially in the field of electronics and machine-building, thus producing a number of products, parts, subassemblies, small-scale apparatuses in small units.

Let us properly study, together with the large-scale industry, those fields in which we must make use of small-scale industry to resolve certain important problems of the national economy, even highly technical problems. Certainly, some of these products must also be manufactured at research institutes and in education. Let us use small-scale industry also for reconditioning certain parts and subassemblies not only for the people, but also for industry. Small-scale industry is able to do very good things in this field.

It is necessary for us to develop the production of arts and crafts to a greater extent. We have quite a tradition in this respect and we have people who can manufacture wonderful things. However, our cooperative system is not paying proper attention to this sector, which is able to meet a number of our people's requirements. We must develop arts and crafts--this form of folk art characteristic of our country--by also ensuring a greater quantity for exports.

Along another line, we must see that our cooperative system is engaged in making better use of local raw and other material resources, first and foremost for its own production, and for other needs. Straw, reed and basket osier weaving, for instance, must be done on the basis of existing raw materials in each locality and each county. Let us also develop the activity of producing construction materials, and carving and chiseling stone and marble. Let us achieve a number of arts and crafts from wood and other materials. We have amber and other semi-precious stones in certain areas [word indistinct] takes any notice of; we must make use of them. We must proceed from the need to use local raw materials and other material resources so as to achieve additional output. We have to take action, especially in the field of construction materials, pottery and ceramics, which can meet certain demands of the people and of the national economy. No approval is needed for that, no allocation from the state fund; what is merely needed is initiative, thought and work and a spirit of economy. Proceeding in this manner, many problems will be solved. It is necessary for our cooperatives to also assume responsibility for contributing to the development of the country's material basis and the basis of raw and other materials of the national economy and to generally increase our wealth. Certainly what will be capitalized on at a local level and with better quality products will ensure greater income for each unit and for cooperative members.

I believe that we should even think of certain small-scale mining units, for instance in areas where there are still 300,000 tons or even 100,000 tons of coal. Certain cooperative units should exploit them with simple systems, as was the custom formerly in order to extract coal. However, there are still certain quantities of iron ore and other ores--of course in small quantities--that can be exploited by the small-scale production system, without complex equipment. Thus important material sources can be used that can even be of national interest.

Therefore, I view small-scale industry as an important factor in developing the raw and other material basis and in capitalizing on resources at the local level. Let us also organize--certainly, under the supervision of the competent bodies--small-scale silver and gold exploitation as the law envisages.

There are extensive opportunities--we must proceed from the need to put everything in motion to increase the raw and other material basis. Small-scale industry and small-scale exploitation of any kind must play an important role in this field, including the field of energy resources. I am referring to windmills, to small-scale mills, small-scale hydro-power stations and other such local systems. Instead of laying electric cable over scores of kilometers, let us make use of water and wind to generate energy. Let us make use of the cooperative system for generating solar energy for its needs--in the mountains and in far-off places. We must also give general application to the biogas system--a field in which cooperatives should also participate. In the energy field, cooperatives, the small-scale production system and small-scale industry is able and should play an active role.

On the basis of appropriate rules, let us see that wood is exploited and processed in places that are difficult to reach. Wood is rotting in the mountains and neither the forestry industry nor our cooperatives make use of it. Tens of thousands of cubic meters of wood are thus lost annually.

The potential to capitalize on and increase the contribution of small-scale production and small-scale exploitation in developing the material and energy basis are unlimited.

There are also fields in chemistry where production can achieve positive things; I am referring to medicinal plants, cosmetics and the production of natural dyes. We must act in the same manner in other fields, too, to make use of local raw and other material resources and to meet the people's demands.

It is necessary for us to eliminate from our cooperative system and generally from small-scale production the current mentality of waiting for everything to come from Bucharest and securing our material basis at a central level. I would say that the majority of small-scale industry demands can easily be met and thus problems can be solved. In other fields we will certainly ensure appropriate supply in keeping with needs, but we will place greater stress everywhere on capitalizing on recoverable materials. I do not want to dwell on these problems. I hope you have made a mental note that we expect small-scale production to contribute to a greater extent than heretofore to the production and utilization of local raw and other materials.

Another form is the utilization of certain private products of the people, especially in the agricultural sector. This was mentioned at the Union of Consumer Cooperatives. We had positive results in the past and we

still have such results in certain areas. In others, however, things are unsatisfactory. It must be understood that the consumer cooperatives are not only called upon to collect products from the city and sell them in villages; they must play an important role in collecting products from the people to take them to the city. Thus an exchange of products should be achieved, a circulation of products in both directions, not only in one way. From this point of view, our consumer cooperatives have reduced their activity to a great extent and therefore must resume it and organize it appropriately by helping farmers to produce what is needed.

We are considering setting a very important task in the field of animal breeding to consumer cooperatives, namely to ensure fresh chicks and piglets for our people. This presupposes for us organizing centers for piglets and chick production and breeding centers in each commune. What we have in mind is that we should breed 300,000 sows in these centers by 1981 which will ensure a delivery of at least 3 million piglets annually to the people. Let us also build incubators that will yield some 100 to 180 million young chicks a day, so that part of these can be sold to the state stock after being fattened and that another part can meet the needs of the given locality. The people's councils must also pay greater attention to the fulfillment of this important goal. You are familiar with the legal provisions and the stress we place on each farm raising animals so as to meet their own needs and to sell part of them to the state. There is a broad field of activity for consumer cooperatives. We must eliminate the practice that still exists in certain places where the consumer cooperative sells the products of the agricultural production cooperative. The agricultural cooperative must sell its own products, without any intermediary, directly to the state or the consumer. The consumer cooperative must sell the products of cooperative members and those of non-cooperative sector. By no means must we allow the products of the agricultural production cooperative to be sold through an intermediary and for 5-6 percent to be paid to the consumer cooperatives. Consumer cooperatives must not be only a body distributing goods, but a production and selling unit that assists the farmer and the producer to produce and sell their products. This has always been the role of consumer cooperatives and we must strengthen and consolidate this role.

In connection with this, I would like to refer to the people's councils. I think that all of us incorrectly understood in the sense that it includes everything that exists in the commune, town or county, and is not subordinated to the national economy. Everything the various types of cooperatives produce in the industrial field is part of the local industry. The people's councils must guide and coordinate this industry; the industrial units must not necessarily depend on the people's council and thus increase their apparatus of officials. The three cooperative systems offer a sufficient framework for developing any local industrial activity, beginning with the production of raw and other materials up to industrial production, including highly technical products. The people's council's task must especially be the management of the commune, of transportation, water, lighting, roads and their maintenance.

They must guide also the activity of local industry in the cooperative system which is also led by the people's councils.

Along another line, we must encourage to a greater extent home production and the participation of certain citizens in the production of material--including retired and old people. We will thus be able to achieve greater production and to utilize the intelligence and work of certain people with great experience who can do certain things well, without tying them to rigid norms and by paying them piecemeal. We must, therefore, organize work at home, so that people have the opportunity to produce various products in their free time and to earn additional money. Within this framework, we must generally think of broadening contract work and paying percentages in the cooperative system, including the application of the law provisions on introducing a system of percentage payments into certain administration units. Those who are in charge of these units are responsible for the output, they must ensure that the payments that are due to the state and to the cooperative system are covered and they should also be able--if they perform good work--to achieve additional incomes, thus exceeding what is envisaged today for our cooperative system. By observing the pricing system and by achieving additional output, they can earn anything! Let us be more receptive, let us fearlessly apply these principles. A cooperative member or several cooperative members who take over a unit will earn twice as much if they produce twice as much. We must mobilize private artisans for the cooperative system so that it can broaden its own activity by helping them in this respect. We must also make it possible for other citizens to engage in home production. Let us change the small-scale production system, including work at home, into a broad system of engaging the masses in the production of high-quality material goods, of arts and crafts, so as to meet the people's demands, by affording them the opportunity--in keeping with their production--to earn more. (loud applause)

I have been told that some people have asked the question: What if by any chance the earnings are taken away from those who earn a great deal, or what will happen to their pension or other such things. As is known, even in the case of small-scale craftsmen who work privately, we have a pension plan--on the basis of their pension own contributions. There are regulations on the basis of which we will be able to legally resolve all problems. We do not intend to restrict earnings through work performed; we will prohibit and punish exploitation, profiteering; however, through work we offer anyone the opportunity--within legal norms--for unlimited earnings. (loud applause)

We must generally be bolder and must show greater initiative. We must no longer ask ourselves what will happen if there is an obstacle on our path. When one starts to work, one should resolve problems. Let us start working and in practice we will find solutions to all problems. (loud applause) The socialist principle we are applying and will apply for a long time to come envisages that each one should be paid in accordance

with the work he performs. We certainly cannot pay any one who does not work; however, the more he produces, the more he should earn and the better he should live! (prolonged applause)

This is why it is necessary for us to firmly proceed to applying our laws and the decisions in this field by broadening our activity and engaging cooperatives in most varied forms, to find better forms and improve the existing ones. We must not fear that we will alter socialism if, after paying ones debts to the state, a person earns more through his work. On the contrary, we will thus strengthen socialism! (loud applause) Even the small-scale craftsman who works, together with his family, with one or two apprentices--as the law envisages--contributes to the development of the material base of socialism. He, too, is necessary for socialism and we must therefore encourage him. (loud applause) Let us not think of how to find all kinds of justification to hinder man's work, but how to eliminate obstacles and how to stimulate him to work and produce more. Thus we will have more material goods, and we will be able to advance more rapidly toward socialism and communism! (loud applause) Marx states that socialism cannot be achieved without an abundance of material goods; however, this abundance cannot be achieved without work, without encouraging man to produce and, in keeping with his work, to earn more. (loud applause)

This is how the recent Central Committee decisions, the laws adopted in this sense must be understood. This is how we must organize small-scale production and services and the activity based on various forms of payment, including work done at home, work paid by percentage, contract work and piecework. These methods can be quite varied; however, they must engage man in producing high-quality products required by our society and our people. There is no limit in this respect! No one will be criticized for having produced more and better products. Those who will be criticized are those who want to live without working--they will not find any place in our society. (loud applause)

Within this framework we must also think of the citizens with certain physical handicaps who cannot work in a factory, but can work at home. It is necessary for us to help them work at home. This is a positive thing from a social viewpoint because, apart from earning something, the man has the feeling of being useful to society, a feeling of dignity. We must concern ourselves with all these people, we must engage them in work! You who are working in cooperatives have to play an important social role in this respect. You must understand the activity of the small-scale production at home both from an economic viewpoint and from a social one. (loud applause)

Furthermore, I want to refer to the need for the small-scale production to contribute to export of products. The contribution to export of the small-scale production within the cooperative system, including the people's

councils' units, is very small at this time. There are great possibilities in this respect, especially arts and crafts can and must be used in an appropriate manner for exports. Let us ensure that on the basis of the program, the contribution by small-scale production to exports and its contribution to increasing our foreign currency fund is increasing along with meeting the people's demands.

Comrades, as for the question of prices, we have a price system that proceeds from the need to ensure a better living standard for the people. We will always actively concern ourselves with ensuring the living standard established for the people and with constantly increasing the people's real living standard, in keeping with our provisions. This certainly also presupposes an appropriate price policy. However, we must keep in mind that the application of this policy is not and must not be at variance with ensuring the efficiency and profitability of economic activity. Efficiency is linked to fulfilling the production plan with as little as possible consumption of material, to increasing labor productivity and to other requirements I have spoken about before. However, it is also linked to establishing a price system in keeping with work performed. It is normal for a mass produced product to sell for less than a product made to order or hand made, which requires more work. I believe that in this respect we have not always taken into consideration the need to differentiate prices appropriately and in keeping with the quantity of work performed or the efforts made.

In our remuneration system we have an income scale of 1-6. Considering the smallest income as equaling 100 [lei] this means that there are people earning 100 while others earn 600; there are also people who exceed 600, thus having additional incomes from other activities. It is, therefore, normal for us to have enough goods for both those earning 100, 200 or 300, that is with smaller incomes, and for those earning 600. Let us therefore ensure an appropriate quantity of products at lower prices--with a more reduced profitability--for the people with smaller incomes as well as more expensive products, which should include profits and higher circulation taxes. It is correct and equitable to proceed in this manner; thus we will give an impetus to production. This is how we should act, including the cooperative system and the small-scale production in general. (loud applause)

However, the problem of ruling out price control and of ensuring an appropriate price ratio is not posed. I am the partisan of differentiated prices, of the people's opportunity to earn more through their work; however the suggestion made yesterday, in an open or more concealed form, in various working groups to ensure greater independence and to lessen price control cannot be accepted.

We will undoubtedly try to eliminate certain forms of bureaucracy and to offer the opportunity for local bodies to move within set ceilings, without ruling out price control. To rule out price control means to stimulate inflation and to endanger the very living standard, the socialist principle of smooth development and of ensuring an appropriate ratio between prices and incomes.

There is a net difference between the possibility of earning more through work and the possibility, advocated by others, of earning more through prices. Earnings must be higher as a result of additional production and not as a result of uncontrolled higher prices. I want this to be completely clear. I hope that you all agree to this! (loud, prolonged applause)

Esteemed comrades, these were some of the problems I wanted to refer to, thus clarifying also certain aspects raised in this meeting.

It is necessary for you to return to your work places with the firm determination to eliminate the negative situation and to fulfill the great tasks devolving on our cooperative system, on the small-scale industrial production and on services, so that we are able to completely implement this year's provisions, including the additional ones, and what we have established for the next 5-year plan beginning in 1981. This requires that we improve the activity in production cooperatives and in each cooperative system separately and the leadership activity. As I have mentioned, let us improve our remuneration and payment system which should be as varied as possible so as to increase incomes and material production in keeping with work performed. Let us reduce the nonproductive personnel to the maximum. It is not necessary for each workshop to have its own accountant and cashier. Those who lead the workshop should act as accountant and cashier! Why should we have functionaries in workshops with only a few people? The head of the workshop, who is also a foreman, should work, should handle cash and take orders! There must, certainly, be a register and an accountant can regularly control prices. This is a matter of properly organizing work in cooperatives. Let us eliminate intricate systems which, unfortunately, still exist even in the state sector and which bury our activity under paperwork. It is necessary that workshops be headed by skilled people. I believe that some statute envisages that they should necessarily have secondary education. That is a good provision, but we must keep in mind that secondary education will be generalized only by 1990 and therefore we cannot expect all workshop or cooperative heads to have secondary education. It is essential for them to be good and honest and hard-working tradesmen. (loud applause) Large-scale industry has different requirements and different possibilities; it is not necessary to follow the same line in small-scale production. In actual fact, during the meeting with industry we also discussed the promotion of experienced foremen, even if they have no secondary education; they can continue their schooling later. A foreman with 30 years' experience will be better than a secondary school graduate who knows the theory but has no practice. (loud applause)

From this viewpoint too we must clarify things and put order into them by promoting people who are determined to work--skilled people and good managers. We have many people of that kind! Our people, the working people in our country, irrespective of nationality, are able to lead and resolve any problem and we must completely trust them! (loud applause) In connection with this I would like to refer to the question of promoting

party members. Let us promote people not only because they are party members. Undoubtedly, if we have a good party member let us employ him as a leader. However, if we have a good member of the socialist democracy and unity front let us trust him and promote him. What is essential is that he is a good craftsman, a good manager who will lead the workshop properly! (applause) Let us create conditions for the working people to be promoted according to their skill and ability and according to how they lead one sector or another.

It is necessary for us also to consider the system of organizing cooperatives according to branches, because it seems to me that this is now a little intricate at county level. Talking about decentralization, we should ensure greater independence here; let us examine the tasks of the unions, let us increase the responsibility of each separate unit, of the communal, town and county people's councils. The county unions must be closely linked to concrete problems. Central unions must react more effectively to problems that must be solved so as to fulfill the important tasks facing the cooperative system and the small-scale industrial production system and services.

These problems should concern also the planning and supply bodies and the central financial bodies. These bodies should fulfill their role and tasks better so as to ensure a proper operation of these very important sectors for our national economy. The central apparatus, the central bodies must draw appropriate conclusions and must improve the leadership system and that of resolving the problems of small-scale industry.

I have not forgotten that we have a coordination council of the cooperative union. I believe that this council, too, must examine its activity and ensure specialization, coordination and close cooperation between the cooperative system, the small-scale production and services, so as to complement each other thus diversifying activity. The coordinating council must create conditions and stimulate initiative to an increasingly greater extent and not deal with meetings. (animation, applause) It is necessary for us to draw conclusions to generally improve the organizational and leadership activity of the cooperative system, of small-scale industry and of services, so as to meet the demands of the working people and of the national economy under favorable conditions.

Once again I want to stress that small-scale production is an important factor in our socialist economy, that our cooperative system is a good production form of our socialist society and is an harmonious part and parcel of our general socialist economic system. Therefore, the problem of it representing an inferior stage is not posed; cooperatives are of great importance and hold a very important place and we must pay all our attention to them so that they can fulfill their role in our socialist society. (loud, prolonged applause)

I have not referred to general problems of our national economy with which I dealt at former meetings. We now wanted to discuss problems characteristic

of this sector, they being part and parcel of our general concerns. It is obvious that each sector's positive activity--the activity of the small-scale production and of services too--must contribute to the general development of our society and to increasing the national wealth, the national income and to improving the degree of civilization and well-being of our people. (loud applause)

In conclusion, once again I want to express the conviction that all the participants in this meeting, all the personnel from the cooperative sector and people's councils and from the small-scale industry and services will act with great determination to eliminate existing shortcomings, to improve activity, so as to fulfill the tasks devolving on them under favorable conditions, thus making an increasingly greater contribution to building the comprehensively developed socialist society and communism and to strengthening the independence and sovereignty of our socialist fatherland. (loud applause; cheers; chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!")

With this conviction I wish you, all cooperative members and all those who are active in this very important sector of activity, increasingly greater successes, much good health and happiness! (loud, prolonged applause; cheers; chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!") All those present give long ovations to the party, the Central Committee and party secretary general and president of our country, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu)

CSO: 2700

CEAUSESCU SPEECH AT MEETING WITH ANIMAL HUSBANDRY CADRES

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[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at the 21 June Bucharest meeting with cadres working in animal husbandry]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, I want to begin by conveying to the participants in this working meeting warm greetings and best wishes from the Central Committee, the State Council, the government and myself. (loud applause)

This meeting was called to discuss our zootechnical activities, the fulfillment of the plan and of the party congress decisions in this area, and measures to improve this very important sector of our national economy.

As I have been informed, the meeting has examined in detail the situation to date, has pointed out both achievements and failings, and has heard many suggestions on how to eliminate negative situations and spread positive experience, and to better implement the zootechnical plan and secure the animal production required for both domestic supplies and industry, and export.

Activities to date show a number of good results, a certain increase in the number of animals and in animal output which, generally speaking, permitted better market supplies, in accordance with the plan provisions. However, we must frankly state that the plan supply provisions were fulfilled not because animal production increased accordingly, but because export provisions were cut back every year--a fact which created serious problems in our balance of foreign payments, considering our substantial imports of raw and other materials, and especially, the repeated increases in oil prices in recent years.

Hence, we must examine the activities in the zootechnical sector in a very responsible manner and decide what measures are to be taken to fulfill the provisions calling for increases in animal production and in the number of livestock, and the entire plan. The meeting has also discussed the provisions of the coming 5-year plan and of 1981. In the coming 5-year plan we must also make up for this 5-year plan's lags, so as to be able to optimally implement the party program provisions.

There are sectors, such as poultry, where lags can easily be recouped. As of this year even we can attain the number of laying hens envisaged in the plan. In other sectors the lags are greater: we have 1 million (head of) cattle, close to 1 and 1/2 million pigs and about 2 million sheep less than envisaged in the plan. This situation is utterly unsatisfactory. In the next 6 months we must increase the number of livestock and animal production more rapidly, and substantially improve the situation; particularly, we must seriously begin, as of 1981, to recoup these arrears and completely fulfill the plan tasks.

For this purpose we must first of all improve the birthrate. With a birthrate of 80-82 percent, let alone 85 percent as envisaged in the current 5-year plan, we could have had more than 2 million additional cattle; we could have slaughtered more than 1 million, thus attaining the prescribed livestock number. Unfortunately however, in 1979 the birthrate recorded in state agricultural enterprises was even lower than it was in 1975—by about 5 percent. The same situation prevailed in agricultural production cooperatives and in the private sector. Hence, the first thing we must do is to take resolute measures to increase the birthrate and to appropriately organize breeding, so that in 2 years at the most we can achieve an 85-percent birthrate, which is the minimum level for an efficient zootechny.

It is utterly inadmissible that in 5 months the state agricultural enterprises obtained only 32 percent of the number of calves envisaged, while Romanian zootechnical practice was to secure 60-70 percent of the calves in the first months of spring. The zootechnical leaders of the state agricultural enterprises have reversed the practice and are going against nature itself, against the experience of centuries of animal breeding in Romania. I am stressing the issue of birthrate for cows and of securing the appropriate number of cattle because this is the most important sector, one that requires a longer period to make up for the arrears. Such lags are also noted in the pig sectors, in state agricultural enterprises and especially in the cooperatives. Similarly, the sheep birthrate is also unsatisfactory. Only 57 percent of the envisaged lambings were recorded in state agricultural enterprises by the end of May. What kind of zootechny is this? How come the experience and good practices of Romanian animal breeding have been forgotten? What kind of leadership did the Ministry of Agriculture provide? What are the zootechnical institutes of Romania doing? Writing reports and dealing with papers? Papers and reports will not breed livestock, will not make the cows, pigs and sheep breed, will not produce either meat or milk! This bureaucracy must be resolutely eliminated—beginning with the ministry leadership and down to the lowest level. All those employed in zootechny must produce livestock, not paperwork! Let us deal with livestock breeding, not with office work!

The mortality rate is also high. In 1978 twice as many animals died as in 1976, and the rate remained high in 1979. This situation cannot continue. By examining the problem of birthrates and mortality rates and

achieving the normal indexes--which, in point of fact, have been achieved in our country, too, and are feasible--we could have secured the entire number of livestock envisaged and could have even obtained meat in excess even of the plan provisions. That is why we are not satisfied with the activities in the zootechnical sector in this 5-year plan. Increases fall far short of what should have been achieved, and in certain areas the situation even deteriorated. Obviously, this is the reason we could not secure an appropriate production of milk, meat, eggs, wool and other items.

The situation is equally unsatisfactory concerning slaughtering weight. The situation recorded at both state agricultural enterprises and at cooperatives was worse than in 1976. Alone the fact that cattle were slaughtered before reaching the prescribed weight caused annual losses of tens of thousands of tons of meat.

As has been correctly observed at the meeting, in order to have a productive zootechnical sector, we must ensure sufficient fodder. I shall come back to this problem, but let us consider the figures: for fattening calves 9.2 units were consumed in 1976 per kg [weight] increase, while in 1979 10.1 units, of which out of the overall quantity 4.2 units were concentrated fodder. The consumption rate recorded at state agricultural enterprises per kg increase was even higher than at cooperatives by more than 1 kg. The consumption rate per kg increase also went up for pigs, at both state agricultural enterprises and cooperatives: from 4.6 to 4.8 in state agricultural enterprises, and from 5 to 5.1 units in cooperatives. For lambs, consumption rates increased from 7.7 to 9.7 units per kg increase, which in terms of concentrated fodder means from 5 to 7. Hence, instead of improving the fodder situation during this period, and reducing consumption rates accordingly, especially by using concentrated fodder--which we do more than the world average--these consumption rates have considerably increased.

I know that there are units which have obtained good results. They have been mentioned at the meeting. There are state agricultural enterprises and cooperatives recording appropriate good results regarding fodder consumption per daily kilogram increase, per product unit. While congratulating those who obtained such results, we must frankly state that in general during this 5-year plan, consumption was higher for 1 kg of meat, a liter of milk and for one egg. However, increases in the consumption of fodder and fodder concentrates leads to increases in the price of meat, milk and eggs, and detracts from economic efficiency.

I have cited these figures because they speak for themselves. The conclusion that emerges is that the results obtained and the increases recorded are not in keeping either with our possibilities or with the efforts made during this 5-year plan. Activities in the livestock sector fall short of the possibilities and the efforts that the state, the people, the working people are making to develop this important area. The lags I mentioned caused us annual losses of several hundreds of thousands of tons of meat,

several million hectoliters of milk, hundreds of millions of eggs, and thousands of tons of wool. These losses could have been avoided if the birthrate indexes and the prescribed weight increases had been achieved. Had consumption rates been at least at the level of our best units the situation would have been far better in the livestock sector.

Failings can also be traced back to the work of those employed in zootechny, beginning with the leadership of the ministry and the minister himself--to be more precise--the deputy minister, the zootechnical department, the research institutes, and down to the last worker tending the livestock.

We must draw all relevant conclusions from this negative situation and resolve to eliminate lags within a few years, to raise the livestock sector to the level of our real potential and of our general economic requirements.

Serious problems also exist in the activities of veterinary surgeons. We had--and I want to believe that we still have--good veterinary medicine. But, as was correctly mentioned here, animals are not given proper care; there is shortage of vaccination serums; the veterinary surgeons are not permanently present during livestock activities. Also to blame was probably the organization system that the ministry introduced and insisted on maintaining for a long time--according to territorial divisions--which no longer answered the requirements of the new development in Romanian zootechny. True, these factors began to be eliminated 2 years ago, when veterinarians began to be hired for farms and complexes and put in charge of all livestock. But it would seem that there has been no change in their work style, in the amount of care they devote to the health of the livestock and to preventing disease.

There are also problems in ensuring the fodder base, in developing the fodder sector in keeping with the requirements of animal breeding and production. Although, as attested to by figures, consumption rates have increased, there are serious deficiencies in securing fodder, in tending and administering fodder, both bulk and concentrated. This has also been discussed here. There is no doubt that the deficiencies in this sector also contributed--and not negligibly--to the negative situation prevailing in zootechny. We cannot but mention that last year, too, a great amount of bulk fodder was burned or left in the fields, including hay, while concentrated fodder, especially corn, was not harvested on time and part of it was spoiled as a result.

In this area, too, we must draw conclusions and learn our lessons in order to eliminate the negative elements and improve the situation. I repeat, this situation is undoubtedly the direct consequence of serious shortcomings in the activities of the ministry leadership, the county agricultural bodies, the party bodies, the veterinary surgeons and the zootechnical engineers.

In view of the important role of zootechny in our national economy and of the fact that the livestock sector must make up at least 50 percent of the overall agricultural production, we must learn from our positive results and especially from our failings and shortcomings, and resolutely begin to improve activities in order to fulfill the plan provisions and the party program tasks concerning livestock breeding.

In the coming 6 months we must make every possible effort to ensure the envisaged births, to appropriately organize breeding, and to increase the weight of animals for slaughter. As I said before, as of this very year the number of livestock must increase more rapidly, and conditions must be prepared so that in the coming 5-year plan we can fulfill the provisions on livestock increase and recoup the lags of the current 5-year plan.

At the meeting with the party aktiv we discussed the need to organize breeding farms appropriately. By fall, by September to be more precise, we must organize calving areas at all cattle farms, which should be located to one side of the stall and provided with hygienic conditions and supervised, so as to ensure appropriate calving and care for the calves. Measures are also required to provide care for all calves in the first period of their life, and subsequently for heifers in special farms, until breeding time. Only after the first calving will the selection be made, keeping the best, according to production results and not to the hypothetical appraisals of specialists.

These provisions have been incorporated in the law, and I will request all farm managers, leaders of state agricultural enterprises and cooperatives, all animal breeders, veterinarians and agricultural bodies to implement them resolutely. By September this organization must be completed. This is the first problem we must solve as of this year.

The second problem is to thoroughly train the personnel in charge of artificial breeding and to organize annual schools for them. Each zootechnical worker, farm head and attendant must be competent to carry out this operation.

We must test the equipment and improve it, so that breeding operations can proceed in good conditions. There may be, of course, deficient animals, but they cannot possibly exceed 10 percent of the overall number. After the first breeding even those must be given veterinary care. This operation must not be left to chance. Thus, we can achieve an 85-90 percent birthrate, and we have examples of such rates in our country. This is in fact the most important problem, and it is valid for all livestock breeds. However, it requires different planning: we must follow age-old experience, whereby most births take place in spring. Not having 70-80 percent of the calvings done by May means that the zootechny is not conducted rationally, because a calf will grow and develop differently in summer than in winter. Hence, this activity must be organized, and resolute measures must be taken to guide it.

Measures are also required to better organize the breeding of sows and sheep, and to better care for piglets and lambs.

In the next year we must attain the birthrates envisaged in the plan, the tasks on births and raising of the livestock. I hope this is clearly understood.

The second problem is that of slaughtering weight. As of this year, the weight envisaged in the plan for pigs, cattle and sheep must be attained. With a good organization, within 6 months we can recoup the lags in cattle weight, so that by the end of the year the situation should become normal; we must not slaughter animals under the prescribed weight. For pigs, this can be achieved in a few months if the work is well done; practically speaking, about 35-40 days are necessary for a pig to put on 20 kg. A good organization can bring the same results for sheep, too, within 4-5 months. Attaining the slaughtering weight is one of the problems we must solve as soon as possible, establishing intervals for attaining the envisaged weight according to species. In point of fact, the price system we have established provides advantages for the delivery of heavier animals. It is obvious that many state agricultural enterprises are recording losses, because in the zootechnical sector alone we have lost billions of lei owing to the fact that the number of livestock and the prescribed slaughtering weight were not achieved. Raising the birthrate will also ensure sufficient quantities of milk. This year we must make every effort to fulfill the production of poultry and even exceed provisions, thus compensating for shortages of beef and pork caused by slaughtering animals under the prescribed weight.

Comrades, regarding the problem of fodder, in accordance with the plan provisions, we must gather and optimally store the fodder harvested at this time. We must also see to the barley crops and barley straw, and then wheat and other crops.

We are nearing the time of the second mowing, but in many places, the lucerne and hay have been mowed and are still in the fields, left to spoil and preventing the growth of the new crops. We have special departments for fodder in both the ministry and lower levels. The zootechnical engineer himself must be responsible for fodder. Bulk fodder, hay and grazing fields are decisive for both cattle and sheep.

Hence, the first task is to gather what has grown to date and to seriously see to the second corn crop, so that by the fall we should have as much fodder as possible. We must take measures to rationally manage and carefully store concentrated fodder. We must rapidly organize local fodder storage facilities, especially at large complexes. Corn and barley for fodder should not end up at grain processing enterprises, thus unnecessarily driving up the prices. Fodder must be stored directly at the complexes, under the supervision of the complex director, zootechnical

engineer and other personnel, thus ensuring the necessary fodder basis in accordance with the established norms. (loud applause) Within a short period of time we must secure adequate processing means. We must eliminate the large concentrated fodder centrals, which double the price. We do not need any overall production value in fodder processing [as published]. We do not in any way increase fodder production by raising the price of corn, barley and so forth. This is no improvement of economic efficiency, but a deterioration, and we must utterly eliminate this inadequate situation. By the fall, all complexes must store corn and barley with their own means, and take the harvested fodder plants directly from the fields, without any intermediary. (loud applause)

Also, the nutrition institute, in cooperation with zootechnical engineers, veterinary surgeons, agricultural experts and experienced workers must work out fodder processing recipes, based on the best results obtained in our units. The ministry and the institute must pass on these recipes in writing. Naturally, not in the form of reports counting tens of pages and requesting payment by the printed sheet. (applause) In point of fact, the editorial system of remunerating work by quantity instead of content must be eliminated. Here, too, the situation must be reversed, providing an incentive for specific solutions, and not for paper quantity. I am now referring to zootechny, but the principle applies to other fields as well. (applause) Hence, we must work out recipes and precise norms in figures, without lengthy explanations, and send them to the farms, so that people will know how to proceed. Actually, this is an obligation that concerns veterinary medicine as well as other sectors, so that good practices in preparing fodder and feeding the livestock may be rapidly spread. We plan to secure the fodder base in accordance with concentrated fodder norms. Each complex is dutybound to know precisely what its norms are, and to manage and administer its fodder base rationally.

I do not want to dwell on the questions discussed here in connection with our experience in secondary fodder. This experience should be spread and agricultural units should be compelled to apply it.

However, I do want to talk about a chief problem, namely, that of roughage. We have 4.2 million hectares of hay and grazing fields; additionally, 700,000-800,000 hectares of the agricultural land were allotted [for fodder purposes]. Hence, we have close to 5 million hectares for roughage. Some fodder plants yield 70,000-80,000 kg per hectare, and even 100,000 kg. Lucerne yields 40,000-50,000 kg per hectare, beets even 150,000 kg where the work is well done, and some have even obtained 180,000 kg. Turnips produce the same yields as fodder beets. These 5 million hectares must be cultivated with the most productive and nutritive plants, thus obtaining the largest productions possible. With a production of only 40 tons per hectare, on 5 million hectares we can obtain 200 million tons roughage. And this not counting straw or corn cobs. That is to say, much more than we need, because our livestock require 130 to 140 million tons of fodder.

This is why we must cultivate all plots of land with the best [word indistinct], which can yield maximum production. Naturally, about 1 to 1 and 1/2 million hectares are mountain grazing fields which require only additional sowing, cleaning and from time to time, hoeing. If we do the additional sowing every 3 years and cultivate this land we will have sufficient fodder.

As of this fall we decided to do additional sowing on up to 1 million hectares, providing adequate chemical and natural fertilizers and a shepherding system, as used to be done once.

The main source of fodder for cattle and sheep must be the close to 5 million hectares which we must sow and cultivate, just as we cultivate wheat and corn. This is one of the central problems of zootechny.

At the same time, straw and corn cobs must be gathered, stored, treated and suitably prepared in the usual mixtures with various substances, including chemical ones such as urea, and so forth. These problems must be broken down and examined for each agroindustrial council, each complex and each commune, so that, as of this year already, we can bring order to this decisive sector for the fulfillment of the livestock increase program.

Various suggestions and proposals were made at the meeting. These will have to be rapidly examined and a solution found for all problems, both the real ones, which must be resolved, and the others, together with explanations as to how things should be understood.

We also have problems in connection with livestock shelters and buildings. We have forgotten a very good practice, also employed in the cooperativization period, namely that of building low cost shelters for the livestock. Many buildings have been started and everybody is waiting for reinforced concrete and cement to build stalls, ignoring the traditional materials. Facilities must be built with local means. We will supply the necessary material for the large complexes on which work has already begun, but they must be finished with local manpower. Each county, each agro-industrial council must solve its problems so that by fall all facilities are completed and put into use. Let us modernize the existing facilities and rapidly introduce mechanical milking everywhere. By 1981 all stalls should have milking machines. We are producing the necessary equipment--which must be updated and further improved--and this problem must be radically solved. By the end of 1981 all problems concerning the organization and securing of the material base must be solved in all complexes and communes.

Comrades, in zootechny as in any other area, cadre training is decisive because, in the final analysis, it is the people that decide the fulfillment of the livestock increase program. We have faculties--for zootechnical engineering, veterinary medicine, agronomy and other specialities. We have medium-level schools and other forms of cadre training. We must examine and improve their curricula, and especially implement the

provisions of the education law, so that on graduating the faculty, a person who has studied zootechnical engineering will know how to handle animals. I have nothing against young town people studying zootechnical engineering, but before entering the university, they should work for 2 years in a stall to make sure that they indeed want to work with animals. The zootechnical engineer and the veterinary surgeon should not spend 2 hours at the complex and 6 hours on the road between town and village; this is not the way to achieve anything either in zootechny or in agriculture, or in any other field. (loud applause) Those who want to work in zootechny must know what it means, must love animals. Otherwise one would never become a good zootechnist, only a clerk. And clerks we do not need in livestock breeding. The zootechnical engineer must be a good specialist and not a clerk. He will work with animals, so he must understand them and their needs, must know how to establish rapport with them. Only thus will the animals respond to him. Without this one cannot be either a veterinary surgeon or a zootechnical engineer! The period of practical work must be extended within our agricultural educational system. The first year must consist of practical work. (prolonged applause) The young people must be given animals to care for and make produce according to the norms--naturally, under the supervision of zootechnical engineers or foremen. After this period of practice they should proceed with their studies and continue with the yearly practice. This is also valid for zootechnical high schools. As of this year we should better organize the agricultural educational system, especially the production practice, because without good cadres, without devoted people, we will not have a progressive zootechny and agriculture. You know, especially those of you who have grown up in the country, how much the peasant loved his animals: in winter he would take the coat off his back to cover his cow or horse. Now, some treat the animals brutally, give them no attention, no care. This is not the way to raise livestock! We must create a genuine animal cult, a cult of animal love and care, because animals give us our food and clothes and are decisive for the very development of our nation! (loud and prolonged applause)

All citizens that hold agricultural land, in whatever form, must raise animals, for both personal consumption and for contracting or sale.

Each commune, each town and each county must secure animals and animal production for both local consumption and for the central stock.

I began with a very severe criticism of the situation in the zootechny and, naturally of the people employed in that sector. However, I am aware that we have many excellent, devoted zootechnical workers, who meet the above criteria. We must endeavor to make all those employed in livestock breeding--zootechnical engineers, veterinary surgeons, and all working people in this sector--become an honour, a frontranking detachment of our agriculture. Within a short period of time we must work a radical change in livestock breeding and developing the animal production, in the entire zootechnical sector. We have the necessary conditions and we can rapidly eliminate the present situation. I am convinced that if we take

measures to thoroughly train zootechnical cadres--also by solving the problems raised at this meeting--we can attain good results, can turn our livestock breeding sector into a front-ranking sector of agriculture, of our entire national economy. (loud and prolonged applause)

Comrades, a short while ago I criticized the research sector. I shall continue in this critical vein. The Pasteur Institute used to enjoy international fame; now I am told that it is lagging behind, that it cannot manage to solve its problems, cannot supply various medicines and serums, especially for poultry. We must raise the Pasteur Institute at least to the level of its past prestige, and bring it to a position where it can rapidly solve its problems.

We must also raise the level of the activities of the faculty of veterinary medicine, in keeping with the recent changes and the new livestock breeding organization in large complexes, which requires a different training from that applying to small-scale farms. Medicine must be adapted to the new situation.

We have a cattle research institute, but no new breed of cattle has yet been created by this institute. We must call a spade a spade. This institute, instead of dealing with the development of our breeds, which have adapted to the climatic conditions of Romania, is considering from where to buy animals, be they good or bad for our specific conditions. (stir, applause) This is no zootechnical research, but trade. I agree that we must keep in step with the best available, develop modern genetics, genetic engineering, and master the state-of-the-art in science, but not in order to buy animals, but in order to improve the Romanian breeds. We had a good "dark" cow and a good "Piebald" cow. Our Maramures and Siementhal dark cows were sought after abroad. The research should have been based on those breeds in improving and creating highly productive animals. We have a few good results in the pig sector. Concerning sheep, however, aside from the Palas achievement--which is irreplaceable--no attempt was made to develop it and to give it superior qualities from the viewpoint of meat, milk and wool production. We have had good results with poultry, but even in this sector I think the comrades are satisfied with what has been done without thinking any further. In the past 2 years things have even begun to deteriorate.

Hence, we must seriously examine zootechnical research. We must also improve the research in the areas of silkworms, fur animals and bees.

I fully agree that agricultural work sometimes drives one to poetry, but poetry must be left to free time. In research we do not need poetry, but concrete results! Poetry must be the secondary profession, while the profession of zootechnical engineer or researcher should materialize in superior, increasingly more productive animal breeds! (loud applause)

That is why I insist on an examination, in the coming 2-3 months, of the situation concerning zootechnical research, on reviewing our programs and on instilling order in this sector, closely coordinating it with production. We must link the institutes to the large complexes and to specific results, must pool together the forces of zootechnical research and universities in order to implement the programs adopted in this area.

Comrades, all this means that the county directorates, the zootechnical sectors, complex leaderships and the ministry must show great responsibility and improve their activities. The ministry must provide operative, on-the-spot leadership, and must maintain constant, live contacts with those employed in the zootechnical sector, rapidly resolving all the problems raised by daily life and activities. We have discussed these problems before. I think that the ministry is moving too slowly. We must seriously examine the activities of the ministry's zootechnical sector, of those subordinated to county bodies, and of those belonging to the state agricultural enterprises, where the situation is utterly unsatisfactory, and we must take energetic measures to instill order. It seems to me, at least at first sight, that even the organization of the zootechnical sector itself is not given due attention. A better organization is required, beginning with the ministry, and one of the deputy ministers, if not the first deputy minister, should be put in charge of the zootechnical sector. (loud applause)

If we want the zootechnical sector to yield 50 percent of the [agricultural] production, we must also draw conclusions from an organizational viewpoint. I do not mean that 50 percent of the ministry personnel should deal with livestock breeding--because securing fodder or corn is also connected with livestock breeding--but the organization must be improved. There must be cadres in charge with decision-making powers at the ministry and at county level. (loud applause)

We must also examine the situation prevailing at complexes, agroindustrial councils and cooperatives. Each cooperative must have a developed livestock sector, of whatever species, so that the share of animal breeding should come to about 45-50 percent at all cooperatives. There is no cooperative that cannot raise animals, according to its specific conditions, and specialize in one species. More attention should be paid to sericulture; silkworms should be compulsorily grown in each cooperative, commune and household of village inhabitants, as was done in the past. Each commune, household and cooperative, as well as enterprises and schools, should have beehives. This, as you well know, is also important for pollination.

We must strengthen the fodder sector and must insure a proper administration of the fodder base. We have institutes for wheat and corn seeds and nobody is concerned about producing seeds for hayfields and pastures. We must properly organize the cultivation of the existing 5 million hectares for fodder.

The nutrition institute should draw up recipes and norms, on the basis of practical experience, which should help to generally introduce the positive results attained in the field of animal fodder, thus reducing the consumption for each kg of meat, milk and wool, a trend and concern which is manifest throughout the world. We should ensure that research and organization, which are closely interrelated, should meet these requirements. At the same time, the ministry leadership and the minister himself must understand that the situation up to now can no longer be tolerated, that this sector can no longer be neglected and that it must be run in a proper way.

Measures should be taken to increase the responsibility of the leadership of cooperatives and state agricultural enterprises as well as the responsibility of party bodies and organizations in cooperatives, state agricultural enterprises and communes. We must also increase the responsibility of county party committees, which are duty-bound to supervise the fulfillment of these tasks.

We have a national union of agricultural production cooperatives and we have county councils; however, I must openly state--knowing that the chairmen of these county unions are here--that the existence of these bodies is hardly felt and that they do not properly carry out their duty to run the activity of cooperatives and to unite their efforts in implementing the existing programs. Their activity must not be reflected in the number of meetings they hold but in the way in which they ensure the growth of agricultural production, including in zootechny. The national union of agricultural production cooperatives was not created to hold meetings and sessions but to mobilize cooperative members and experts to carry out an intensive work to attain the planned production. (loud applause) We must pool the efforts of the union and of agricultural bodies to act toward the same goal. I do not want to refer now to other economic institutions, including the agricultural bank, which also have important obligations and responsibilities in this field.

Very responsible tasks devolve upon communal, town and county people's councils in attaining a modern and highly efficient zootechny. They must ensure the strict implementation of laws and decisions in animal breeding.

I would like to stress the responsibility incumbent upon the union of communist youth. We shall have to pay more attention to youth in villages and to recruit and train youth for work in zootechny. There is a broad trend of movement from villages to towns; this trend is justified up to a point. At the same time we must ensure the presence of youth in agriculture and zootechny. As a matter of fact, the child must be educated in school in the spirit of a cult for agriculture, land, animals and zootechny! (loud applause)

We must properly understand that agriculture is a basic branch of our society and that without it we can build neither socialism, nor the comprehensively

developed socialism or communism! No matter how many reports, calculations or theories the economists may come up with concerning the distribution principles, it is clear that first of all you must have something to distribute; if you do not have meat and other products, all paper reports are useless! (loud applause)

The attainment of our party program and the building of the comprehensively developed socialist society and communism require a developed agriculture and an advanced zootechny. We have to defeat capitalism here, too. Not with words, but with better and more productive livestock and with a better agriculture. This is the competition between socialism and communism! (loud and prolonged applause)

The union of communist youth, together with party bodies and organizations must pay particular attention to work among youth, ensuring that a larger number of youth work in zootechny, as well as in their appropriate education. Important tasks also devolve on our education system in this respect. We must improve school manuals, beginning with the ABC. (loud applause) Education must bind man to land, not tear him from it! Patriotic education is no abstract notion; it means love for the village, place, commune and house where a man was born and for everything surrounding him. If man is not educated from his early years in the spirit of love for the place where he was born, we speak in vain about patriotic and communist education. Patriotism means love for work, land and the house you were born in. This is the fatherland; it is not something abstract! (loud and prolonged applause)

Finally, so as not to be criticized by the comrades from planning and other central bodies for having forgotten them, I must say that they also bear a certain responsibility for the negative situation in zootechny. There are shortcomings in the way they have dealt with ensuring an appropriate material base and with checking the fulfillment of plan provisions. It is not enough to write on paper what has to be done; it is necessary to ensure the material base and to check weekly, monthly and daily the way in which established tasks are being fulfilled. In this respect I must say that our central bodies, beginning with the planning ones, have not carried out their tasks properly. Proceeding from the great targets set for agriculture and zootechny, it is necessary to take all the necessary measures to restore order and to resolve problems, including material ones, in order to achieve a zootechny that is in keeping with the requirements of our contemporary society. (loud applause)

One can talk a lot about zootechny, both about successes and deficiencies. In spite of the fact that we are not satisfied with current results, we are firmly convinced that we have everything necessary to eliminate, in a relatively short period of time, the existing negative situation, to improve the entire activity and to unflinchingly implement the program for developing zootechny and increasing animal production. We have the necessary material resources and will ensure everything that is required; we also have good men and appropriate cadres.

I am fully convinced that those present at this meeting, all those working in zootechny and generally speaking in agriculture and all party bodies and organizations will understand that we must attain a radical positive change in zootechnical activity, by raising this sector to the level of a key branch of agriculture and important branch of the overall national economy. I am convinced that workers in zootechny and those present here will do everything possible to attain this goal! (loud, prolonged applause; chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!")

In conclusion I would like to congratulate those working in this important sector of our economy for the good results attained thus far and to wish them success in achieving better results and ensuring that next year, when we meet again, we can jointly ascertain a radical change in zootechny.

Much success and health dear comrades! (loud and prolonged applause; chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!") Those present stand up and cheer on end for the RCP, its Central Committee and the party secretary general and president of the country, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu).

CSO: 2700

CONDOLENCES TO INDIAN PRESIDENT ON GIRI'S DEATH

Radulescu Expresses Condolences

AU281557 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1130 GMT 28 Jun 80

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28 Jun--On behalf of President Ceausescu, at the State Council and of the Romanian Government, condolences were presented at the Indian Embassy in Bucharest on June 27, on the death of Varahagiri Venkata Giri, former president of India, by Gheorghe Radulescu, vice-president of the State Council.

Those present kept a minute's silence before the black-framed portrait, and signed the book of condolences.

Ceausescu's Condolences

AU281558 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1132 GMT 28 Jun 80

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 28 Jun--President Nicolae Ceausescu addressed a telegram to Indian President Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, which reads: Learning with deep sorrow about the death of the former president of the Republic of India, Varahagiri Venkata Giri, I would like to convey sincere condolences to you, to the Indian Government and people, as well as our full compassion to the bereaved family.

CSG: 2020

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO INDONESIA--Jakarta, (AGERPRES) 24 Jun--The new Romanian ambassador to Indonesia, Ion Cotot, presented his letters of credence to President Suharto. Cordial greetings were exchanged on the occasion between presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Suharto. The Indonesian head of state expressed his conviction that the relations of friendship, collaboration and understanding between the two countries and peoples will develop still more both bilaterally and internationally. [Text] [AU241104 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0920 GMT 24 Jun 80]

ENVOY TO MEXICO--Ciudad de Mexico, (AGERPRES) 27 Jun--Jose Lopez Portillo, president of Mexico, received Constantin Bablau who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Romania to that country. On the occasion, greetings were exchanged between presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Jose Lopez Portillo. The president of Mexico highlighted the good relations between the two countries and the possibilities of further developing them, in the field of commercial exchanges and bilateral economic cooperation in particular, on the basis of the agreements and understandings covenanted at summit level. He pointed to the close Romanian-Mexican cooperation within international bodies and expressed his conviction that that collaboration would continue to expand in the future as well. [Text] [AU271125 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0930 GMT 27 Jun 80]

ROMANIAN-DPRK CULTURAL AGREEMENT--Bucharest, AGERPRES, 19 Jun--The signing of the programme for the application of the agreement of cultural collaboration between the governments of Romania and the DPR of Korea for the 1980-1981 period took place in Bucharest on June 19. The document stipulates the development and deepening of bilateral collaboration in the fields of science, education, culture, health protection, press and radio television. [as printed] [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1915 GMT 19 Jun 80 AU]

SMALL EARTHQUAKE REPORTED--Bucharest, AGERPRES, 18 Jun--The Centre of the Physics of the Earth and Seismology reports that on June 18, 1980 at 10 hours 47 minutes and 54 seconds a tremor occurred in Vrancea region at a 70-km depth having a magnitude of 4.1 (Richter Scale). The intensity of the earthquake at epicentre was of III degrees (Mercalli Scale). The tremor was felt in Bucharest at a II-degree intensity. No damage caused. [Text] [AU182010 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1826 GMT 18 Jun 80]

CEAUȘESCU CONGRATULATES MEXICAN PRESIDENT--To His Excellency Mr José López Portillo, president of the United Mexican States, Mexico City. On your 60th birthday, I extend to you cordial congratulations and best wishes (for health) and happiness. I take this opportunity to extend wishes for peace and prosperity to the friendly Mexican people. [Signed] Nicolae Ceaușescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. [Text] [AU231157 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Jun 80 p 3]

ROMANIAN-NORWEGIAN TALKS--Comrade Gheorghe Opres, first deputy prime minister of the government, today received Reulf Sreen, chairman of his country's side in the Romanian-Norwegian Joint Commission session on economic, industrial and scientific-technical cooperation and or trade exchange that is being held in Bucharest. The two sides discussed matters pertaining to cooperation between the two countries in the economy and industry, in technology, science and trade and opportunities to expand and diversify mutually advantageous relations in those fields. [AU192130 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 19 Jun 80 AF]

ROMANIAN-SENEGALISE COMMISSION SESSION--The 9th session of the Romanian-Senegalese Joint Commission on developing trade exchange and economic and technical cooperation has ended in Bucharest. During the session, the two delegations, led by Gheorghe Tigara, minister of electrical power and chairman of the Romanian side in the commission, and Louis Alexandrenne, minister of planning and cooperation and chairman of the Senegalese side in the commission, examined--in the spirit of the understandings concluded at top level--the results achieved in developing economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation between the two countries and worked out new measures to expand and diversify Romanian-Senegalese cooperation in sectors of common interest and further expand trade exchange. [AU192130 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 19 Jun 80 AF]

AMBASSADOR LEAVES PERU--Peruvian President Francisco Morales Bermudez Cerrutti, received the farewell call of Romanian Ambassador to Lima Ion Ciomășescu, on his final departure from that country. [AU192130 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 19 Jun 80 AF]

END 2700

SZCZECIN DAILY PUBLISHES GIEREK'S LETTER TO SECRETARY BRYCH

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 11 Jun 80 pp 1, 2

[Text] Edward Gierk, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, sent a letter to the Executive Council of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Szczecin addressed to the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee, Janusz Brych. This letter (the contents of which are published below) was discussed at yesterday's meeting of the Voivodship Committee Executive Council. At this meeting it was decided to choose 25 June as the date for a meeting with leading active party members engaged in social and economic affairs. This meeting will provide a forum for the discussion of the ways and means for carrying out the tasks set forth in the first secretary's letter. On 25 June a Plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee will also take place that will be devoted to a discussion of local economic issues. Other important socio-economic problems facing the voivodship and the progress and results of the pre-congress reporting and election campaign were also discussed at the meeting of the Executive Council of the PZPR Voivodship Committee.

Comrade Janusz Brych

First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, Szczecin

Not quite 4 months ago at the party's Eighth Congress we mapped out a program for the country's socioeconomic development during the 1980's. In endorsing this program we were fully aware of the strains and difficulties that are bound to arise in the course of our national development both as a result of the impact of factors over which we have no control and also as a result of shortcomings in the workings of our own economy. In this regard we took into account all of our advantages and limitations. We made a thorough analysis of the factors which will have a direct bearing on our future development. Everyone is aware of the results of this analysis. During the years that lie immediately ahead we cannot expect that the external problems which have an impact on our economic activities will become any more tractable. Bearing in mind the limited opportunities for increasing supplies of raw materials, we will have to count on increased problems in the procurement of raw materials.

In the face of the growing restrictions on the forces of production there is only one way, as was pointed out at the Eighth Congress, to realize the social goals that have been set forth, namely, by bringing about a systematic improvement in the efficiency of management. The congress also placed a great deal of emphasis on the need to strengthen the equilibrium of our economy and to achieve a balanced economic growth as prerequisites for the better satisfaction of social needs and the more effective utilization of the forces of production. These are two interrelated strategic tasks to which we must address ourselves in both the short and long runs.

The party is therefore dutybound to make a systematic study to determine, first, whether as time passes there has been an improvement in the efficiency of management and, second, whether the tasks set forth in the area of strengthening the equilibrium of our economy have been properly carried out.

We know that in the work of your voivodship party organization a great deal of attention is being devoted to the problems associated with improving efficiency and strengthening economic equilibrium. We appreciate the efforts you have made, efforts which are reflected in the economic performance record of Szczecin Voivodship. It is especially important that we should acknowledge the progress that has been made in your voivodship in the fulfillment of consumer goods production tasks as well as in the area of port and maritime shipping business.

But in addition to these accomplishments we are also faced with a lot of problems that need to be addressed in an energetic fashion by party organizations. An analysis of the progress that has been made in the fulfillment of the national socioeconomic plan during the first few months of 1980 reveals the persistence of a number of undesirable situations. This is reflected above all in the failure to comply with the planned structure of industrial production, in an excessively high level of employment, a lack of discipline in the control of spending, especially from the wage fund, the unsatisfactory progress of capital investment projects, the underfulfillment of the farm products procurement plan, the less than complete fulfillment of plan targets in the area of reducing net costs and materials consumption, and also in the large amount of lost working time. These problems have had a lot to do with the obstacles that have been placed in the way of the realization of our strategic policy goals. In your voivodship too, a number of problems have cropped up that need to be responded to by a redoubling of party efforts.

Both in the manufacturing and construction industries of your voivodship an unsatisfactory relationship has developed between the growth of labor productivity and the increased investment of machinery and equipment per worker. During 1979 the growth of labor productivity in manufacturing, in comparison with 1978, was two times lower than the rate of increased investment in machinery, and equipment per worker, while in the construction industry the 26-percent increase in the level of investment in machinery and equipment per worker was accompanied by an almost 5-percent decline in labor productivity. We also have to be concerned about the large amount of overtime working hours. These indicators are only a partial explanation for the

adverse conditions that were developed during 1980. An especially important warning signal that needs to be subjected to macroeconomic analysis is the relatively high percentage of TAW companies visited by people who have quit their jobs.

We are pleased to note that in Szczecin Vojvodship the share of quality brand products in sales of goods subject to quality control has increased (from 35.0 percent in 1978 to 37.7 percent during the first quarter of 1980). It is disturbing to note, however, that during this same period there was an increase in the defective products indicator rising from 5.6 percent in 1978 to 6.1 percent this year). As well as in the share of defective objects in the costs of producing manufactured goods.

The situation in the area of monetary and foreign equilibrium is a special cause of concern. During the last 9 months the plan target for the growth of the wage fund has been exceeded by a wide margin. This is also a problem in Szczecin Vojvodship. According to information furnished by the Polish National Bank this margin in excess of the plan target amounted to 21 42.9 million. Only 2 months into 1980 and the wage fund has already been overdrawn. This is an example of manufacturing industries have already used up their wage fund allowance. By the end of the year the construction industry has used up its allowance by 35.2 percent, whereas the manufacturing and construction industries have to fulfill the annual production targets by 11.0 and 10.8 percent respectively.

This situation cannot be allowed to persist in the future. We must realize that the unbalanced rise in wages creates a narrow pressure which tends to drive up prices, thereby fueling inflation, and stimulating social unrest.

The successful implementation of our national macroeconomic development program is closely tied to the growth of export sales, an improvement in the efficiency of these export sales, and the rationalization of import transactions. It is above all because of this that we should focus our attention on stepping up the production of goods for export. On a national scale our performance record in this area is not satisfactory. And in this regard there is also room for improvement in Szczecin Vojvodship. This is because, 4 months into 1980, the progress that has been made toward the fulfillment of the export production plan target by manufacturing industries in Szczecin Vojvodship still falls short of the prescribed norm by 11.5 percentage points in terms of the amount of working time that has elapsed. The contribution of these manufacturing industries to the total national industrial output also falls short of the prescribed plan target by 5.5 percentage points.

The shipping industry, whose activities have a major impact on the efficiency of commodity export sales and a direct impact on the balance of payments, plays a role of special importance in your viceroyship. We are pleased with the progress that has been made toward the fulfillment of the plan by the ports and shipping enterprises which have surpassed the plan target in terms of elapsed working days. But it is still necessary to redouble efforts aimed at eliminating delays of sales in ports, along, last year for example, the

penalties that were paid out for this reason amounted to nearly \$20 million nationally. We ask that you should pay special attention to the problems of the offshore fishing industry; this is because we are concerned about the lack of progress that has been made to date toward the fulfillment of this industry's annual production quotas.

In view of all these problems it is imperative that there should be an intensification of political work with the management staffs and rank-and-file workers of industrial plants. I would like to take this opportunity to express my conviction that the party organization of Szczecin Voivodship, its active membership and units will spare no efforts to insure the fulfillment of plan tasks and to provide for greater management efficiency.

I would also like to ask you to discuss the contents of this letter at a meeting of the Executive Council of the Voivodship Committee and to inform the Central Committee Secretariat of the resolutions which are made at this meeting.

Edward Gierek
Warsaw, 6 June 1980

11813
CSO: 2600

CHOJECKI GETS SUSPENDED SENTENCE, CONDEMNS REPRESSION BEFORE COURT

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 16 Jun 80 p 6

[Article signed "ba," datelined Warsaw, 15 June: "Polish Underground Publishing House Chief Chojecki Sentenced--Court Suspends Prison Sentences Against Dissidents"]

[Text] Miroslaw Chojecki, the head of the literary publishing house Nowa, which has a large-scale, uncensored, underground operation, and his colleague Bogdan Grzesiak have each been sentenced to 1 and 1/2 years imprisonment for appropriating public property and instigating public employees to perform services by using company assets. They were given a suspended sentence. Two codefendants, employees in the copying department of a state trade organization, each received a 1-year sentence, which was likewise suspended. In rendering judgment the court expressed its confidence that none of the four would again commit a punishable offense.

The trial against Chojecki, who is also a member of the oppositional Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR), and his codefendants had attracted considerable attention and generated concern not only in opposition circles, but, because of the significance of the Nowa Publishing House in Polish literature, also in literary circles. More than 100 writers, some of them significant ones, and the board of the writers association had sought Chojecki's release from pretrial imprisonment. His release on 10 May was, however, apparently attributable to the intervention before the party boss Gierek of his mother, who had played a significant role in the resistance movement during the Nazi occupation of the country. The codefendants were brought to trial in handcuffs from their pretrial imprisonment. Since 1977 Nowa has been publishing in editions of more than 1,000 copies above all the works of home-based or exiled Polish writers who are not allowed to appear in the official press, as well as foreign literature in translation, for example, Grass' "Die Blechtrommel" [The Tin Drum].

Widespread Practices

The facts which supported the charges and the sentencing were basically not in dispute during the trial: The employees of a governmental firm in response to requests of Nowa representations had in each instance published several

hundred copies of Nowa's literary periodical ZAPIS and a historical-political memoir on company owned copying machines and apparently partially company owned paper largely on their own time, for which they received payment from Nowa which substantially exceeded their modest monthly wage. In January they had transferred to Nowa a copy machine which belonged to the company, was very old, hardly used any more and no longer fully functional. It had been fully paid off and apparently would have shortly been put out of service but had not yet been officially discarded. Such practices are widespread in Poland.

During the trial it was a matter of dispute whether as a result of the defendants' actions any appreciable damage had been done to the national economy, whether the trial should not be stopped for lack of substance. A major role in the trial was played by questions as to the origin of the paper used to make copies, whether the private assignments were done during or after normal working hours, and whether the transferred machine, for which parts are no longer available, was still of any value to the company.

The defense argued rather convincingly that the transferred machine was no longer of any value to the state-owned company, that printing private materials had hardly done it any damage because with its capacity the work was accomplished in a few hours and as far as the intent of the criminal code in question is concerned the company had not lost any business due to the private activity of its employees since this business would never have been accepted by the company. The gist of the defense's argument was that a trivial matter had been blown out of proportion.

The district attorney expressly argued that the content of the copied materials and the content of the materials which the transferred machine was used to copy were in no way the object of the charges and were irrelevant to a guilty verdict. The defense, on the other hand, stated that because of the lack of the additional charges violating censorship regulations this trial was the "requiem" for the article, which defended the activity of the censorship office, and moreover indirectly brought into question the honesty of the DA's argument, which concentrated on offense against property. The discrepancy between the small amount of damage, even if one accepts the charges on this point, and the months of pretrial imprisonment as well as the strange circumstance, which suggests continual police observation of Nowa people, that immediately after a third party had shut down the copy machine, a house search followed, support the defense's argument that this is not a common case like many others. In passing judgment the court pointed to the large and growing number of crimes involving public property in Poland. The judgment thus underscored the necessity of preventing a general phenomenon by example. The two employees of the company, the court emphasized in the context of this argument, were not entitled to determine that the machine would no longer be in service.

The pretrial imprisonment, it appeared, had to a certain extent already prejudiced sentencing. When measured against the pretrial imprisonment, the judgment, which was in accord with the DA's request, shows a certain backing-down.

Speech on Political Principles

During the trial Chojecki, unlike his codefendants, and also departing from the main line of the defense, which did not take the political offensive but pursued the argument about the triviality of the matter, refused to discuss the material aspects of the case, and without either complaint or interference from the presiding judge of the court, gave a political speech on principles concerning the general background of the trial. He saw the trial as an additional repressive move against Nowa and pointed out why this independent publisher was necessary and valuable to the national culture: There exists in general a double standard of morality, a discrepancy between the one which is announced publicly and values realized privately, between the unreal, dummy presentations of the public media and reality; the people are drilled into conformity; there is lying from kindergarten on and a state monopoly on words and thought. Because of the lacunae in the official representations of history, such as the Soviet invasion of eastern Poland on 17 September 1939 and the subsequent Soviet occupation there resulting in hundreds of thousands of Polish deaths, today's young generation has practically no possibility of understanding the continuity of its own history.

Chojecki then provided an exhaustive listing of works and authors published by Nowa that had been excluded from publication in the state publishing houses which are subject to censorship and pointed to the article in the constitution which guarantees freedom of expression, of publishing, of gatherings and demonstrations. The article states that the workers will be provided with presses, paper, rooms, communication devices and other means to realize these freedoms. Where, asked Chojecki rhetorically, could workers in this Poland of 35 million people obtain a copying machine or printer's ink?

9485

CSO: 2300

OPEN LETTER FROM PROFESSORS CRITICIZES EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 9 Jul 80 p 1

[Text] In a samizdat bulletin addressed to all teachers, professors and educators, nine prominent Polish scholars and writers published an open letter severely criticizing the distortions and deficiencies in formal education in Poland.

All signatories of the letter, headed by the Catholic writer Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, are lecturers at the so-called "Flying University," or courses which, circumventing the censorship, teach subjects that are omitted or distorted in state schools and universities.

The open letter states that the present mandatory education system in Poland endangers the future of the young generation of Poles and Polish culture.

"We are concerned--states the letter--about the far-reaching distortions in the teaching system and its program which in its present form causes irreparable damages."

The letter states that dangerous distortions are especially employed in the teaching of Polish history and literature. The students and their parents are forced to renounce their convictions and to accept the "limited truth" which is taught in schools.

"The education policy--continues the letter--forms the school into an instrument of indoctrination. From childhood to the higher schools the educational programs are aimed at weakening independent thought and independence of convictions in a student and encourage submissiveness to the status quo."

"The students are told--we read further--that they should demonstrate a fervent support for the system and the party. Secondary school graduates are forced to accept party cards. The weak students submit to this pressure because they are afraid that they will not be admitted to higher studies."

Another portion of the open letter deals with books and more general subjects: "School textbooks and educational instructions propagate shallow, biased and falsify or omit facts. This is constantly used in the teaching of modern history."

The authors of the letter further ascertain great shortages of textbooks, atlases, encyclopedias and literary works which are the subject of studies in schools.

1981 2600

SLOVENIAN WRITERS ASK FOR NEW REVIEW, FREER EXPRESSION

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jun 80 p 6

[Excerpt] Unplanned, and at a time of full mobilization to successfully implement the stabilization policy, the working people of Slovenia received from their esteemed cultural workers a rather long and unusual "letter." Unusual not only in content but also because its authors by-passed the well-known and established self-management democratic procedure for examining all social questions including cultural-artistic questions.

It is a question of the cultural workers Niko Grafenauer, Tinet Hribar, Andrej Inkret, Svetlana Makarovic, Boris A. Novak, and Dimitrije Rupel who "in the name of 54 cultural workers," sent a "letter" to Mitja Ribicic as president of the SAWP republic conference in which "they propose and request that a new Slovenian review (periodical) be initiated." At the same time they also intensified the discussion with the SAWP republic conference president "on all open questions" which are put forth in their "letter." However, President Mitja Ribicic, proceeding from the view "that individuals cannot decide in the name of social-political bodies about the launching of a review such as the signers of the 'letter' have conceived," forwarded the "letter" to the Cultural Council in the SAWP Republic Conference Presidium as the authorized organ with the suggestion that it evaluate it and organize a democratic discussion. In this way and through its publication in DELO the 'letter' became the subject of public discussion and of those (i.e., all working people and citizens) who were not otherwise addressed. Thus, instead of "striking" within a narrow closed circle between the "cultural elite" and "political leaders," [It became the subject of] public discussion, public confrontation with arguments, and decision by the public.

The authors of the "letter" allege as the reason for starting a new review that the score of reviews which now come out in Slovenia are no longer adequate and that "there is no possibility for us to change and shape our cultural life according to our capabilities and conceptions." The "letter" contains a number of critical judgments about the situation in Slovenian culture, the possibilities of cultural creativity, and [contains] the proposed concept for the new review which should be "a review of new criteria, new differences and separations."

In connection with this "letter" the Secretariat of the Cultural Council in the SAWP Republic Conference reported that this council will discuss in the fall the review press in the Republic and within this framework also the initiative taken to start a new review and it will establish at this time whether a review with the above-mentioned concept and such ideological-political and esthetic premises is socially necessary and acceptable. The Slovenian public has been invited to examine the basic reasons the signers give for starting a new review. The Secretariat stresses that it is especially necessary that in the public discussion those [working] in review activities (about which the signers express their judgments in the section on the history of the review press and the elements of crisis in this press) present their opinion. In this we must not lose sight of the fact that many of the signers are also active co-workers and editors on these publications and that they are also in other cultural institutions, on editorial boards of publishing houses, in cultural columns in newspapers, in the theater, radio and television, in various program councils, etc., so in this way they are co-creators co-responsible for the situation not only in the review press but throughout the cultural field."

It is especially necessary, the Secretariat believes, that the public discussion bring to light and establish the accuracy of the assertion in the "letter" that "a cultural calm and general dullness prevails in Slovenia, that this is a privatized, bureaucratized, and sterile culture, that there are desires which limit freedom of scholarly and artistic creation, that there is a conflict between self-management and nee-Stalinist tendencies, and that the signers of this proposal to start a new review are frequently the most exposed target of political and ideological scheming and discrediting."

In noting that the Constitution and laws make it possible also for groups of citizens to start a review but that the way to do this is through the democratic and self-management procedure and verification of the [review's] concept in the SAWP, along with a preliminary commitment by the founders and agreement on the exchange of labor within the cultural community, the Secretariat mentions that the authors of the letter did not discuss their concept either in the SAWP or within the cultural community and the Slovenian writers society.

The Slovenian public has accepted the appearance of this "letter" very calmly and coolly. There is a readiness to discuss, through argument and without labelling [people], within the SAWP, within the appropriate societies and self-management bodies, also such delicate questions which the authors of the "letter" have brought up, although they have bypassed the essence of the problem and the recognized self-management democratic procedure for exchanging opinions and harmonizing judgments and views.

C30: 2800

BRIEFS

LCY CC GROUP IN SLOVENIA--A working group of the LCY Central Committee led by Mahmut Bakali, member of the LCY CC Presidium, ended a 3-day visit to Slovenia on 26 June. Members of the group visited several basic LC organizations and managements in Ljubljana-Siska and Nova Gorica. They held discussions in individual basic organizations of associated work in material production, in social sectors, and in local communities on implementing the leading role of the LC and on tasks in further developing the delegate system and socio-economic relations. They devoted special attention to assessments of the action-orientation of the election-program conferences in opstinas and to perceiving how much has been achieved in changing to the new role and organization of the opstina leaderships in general. Today [26 June] the group held discussions in the Slovenian LC Central Committee with France Popit, president of the CC, Franc Setinc, secretary of the LC Presidium, Majda Gaspari, member of the Presidium, and others. [Text] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jun 80 p 3]

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